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ABSTRACT

These seven papers address problems of teaching about state government and politics at the secondary level and provide a framework and suggestions for improving the curriculum. The first paper analyzes the current civics curriculum and notes that textbooks underemphasize state government and overemphasize the structure and the formal procedures of government. This overemphasis excludes discussions of process and interaction within state government. The second paper, written by a state legislator, also notes that the experience of politics is missing from the high school curriculum and outlines the way in which the political "game" is played. Papers three through six present a four-stage model of public policy development which describes initiation of policy demands, enactment of public policy by the legislative and executive branches, implementation of public policy, and assessment of policy outcomes. The final paper presents suggestions for developing curriculum materials based on the above analytical framework. (Author/KC)

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STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

IN THE

SECONDARY CURRICULUM

Based on a Conference held at the Wingspread Conference Center, March 13-15, 1977, sponsored by the Illinois Legislative Studies Center, Sangamon State University. The Conference was supported by The Johnson Foundation, the Illinois Office of Education, and Sangamon State University.

W. Williams Stevens, Jr.
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Editors

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PREFACE

The necessity of teaching our youth more about state government is now undeniable. State government enters and influences our lives more each year and future voters and taxpayers must be introduced to its structure, processes and problems if they are to be responsible voters and taxpayers. Political scientists have recently made significant advances in understanding state government, but these advances have not reached secondary school classrooms. This volume explores the methods and problems of translating new academic knowledge into the curricula of these schools. Dialogue between political scientists and educators is vital if social studies education is to remain relevant. Such dialog is the purpose of this volume.

A BRIEF HISTORY

The papers presented here emerged from the efforts of Sangamon State University to inform those in public education. The effort is directly related to the University's mandate as a public affairs institution. To fulfill this mandate the University directs educational, research, and service efforts toward the solution of public problems facing the state and its local communities. To administratively carry out this mandate, the University established several public affairs centers. The Illinois Legislative Studies Center is one of these centers; it sponsored the project which has resulted in this publication.

During the past several years, faculty from the Illinois Legislative Studies Center have observed with concern the teaching of state government and politics in the secondary schools. Although these early observations were not organized systematically, Center personnel recognized that the vast majority of our secondary graduating students had only a vague understanding of state government and politics. Dedicated to the solution of educational problems in this area, the Center established a project to improve the teaching of state government and politics in the high school curriculum.

This project has several basic assumptions. First, in order to effectively change the high school curriculum to include more and better information on state government and politics, new curriculum materials need to be developed. These materials should supplement rather than supplant current social studies curriculum. To some extent, these materials must be useful in any secondary social studies curriculum regardless of the state where they are to be taught. Finally, these materials must encourage active student involvement.

Another assumption underlying this project has been that curriculum development must follow a systematic and thoughtful set of procedures. These steps include: needs assessment, rationale development, conceptualization of major concepts, generalizations, and principles from a discipline or disciplines, development of student objectives and activities, creation of student evaluation instruments, field testing of materials, modification of materials based upon student and teacher feedback, publication and distribution of the materials, and finally, teacher training in the use of these materials.

During the fall of 1976, David Everson, Associate Professor of Political Studies and co-editor of this publication, prepared a working paper outlining a conceptual framework which described the process of public policy formation within state government. Based on this working paper, an application was made to The Johnson Foundation by the Illinois Legislative Studies Center and the Illinois Office of Education for support to conduct a conference focusing on (1) the current status of instruction in the secondary schools about state government and politics; (2) the realities of state government and politics; (3) the development of a conceptual framework to describe the initiation, enactment, implementation, and assessment of public policy at state level; and (4) the development of curriculum materials on state government to be used in secondary schools.

The resulting Wingspread Conference in Racine, Wisconsin on March 13, 14 and 15, 1977, provided the forum for a thorough discussion of these issues. Many of the conclusions in the final chapter of this publication have their roots in those discussions.

AN OVERVIEW

The papers in this volume approach these issues in different ways. John Patrick's paper (Chapter 1) analyzes the current civics curriculum and underscores its basic deficiencies. The paper by Illinois State Representative Douglas Kane (Chapter 2) describes the process of state government from the inside – an invaluable perspective. The next four papers (Chapters 3 - 6) are by political scientists. They examine the process of policy formulation in state government in light of the major disciplinary concepts developed in recent years. The four major components of policy formulation are initiation, enactment, implementation and assessment. The final paper (Chapter 7) integrates educational and political science perspectives and suggests directions for curriculum materials development. The following summary provides an overview of the major sections of this volume.

Civics Education: The State of the Art

The chapter by John Patrick consists of a careful analysis of current civics education in secondary schools. He points to serious deficiencies in his evaluation of the textbooks currently used in government-related courses in secondary schools. He demonstrates the lack of coverage of the state level of government as compared to the federal level, uneven attention to important institutions of state government and an overemphasis on structure and formal procedures to the virtual exclusion of process and interaction within state government. The overemphasis on formal structure, he concludes, is most serious. Students are not schooled in the debate, rhetoric, patronage, enticing patterns and behavior, etc., that are the warp and woof of state politics.

An Insider's View

Representative Kane continues his emphasis in his chapter, but he also challenges both political science ("I reacted very negatively to the other chapters prepared for this volume" p. 18). and current civic education ("Political science taught at the high school level is structurally and institutionally oriented...the value system engendered is one of 'them' against 'us', private interests against the public interest, politicians against people, right against wrong, and the good guys against the bad guys." p. 19). Kane clearly feels that what is missing is the *experience* of politics. His views on how the political "game" is played provide an important introduction to two key, related questions: how do teachers conceive of politics, and how do they pass on their conception of it to students?

Despite Kane's distrust of academic models, his paper fits easily within one of the dominant modes of contemporary political science: the group theory or pluralist approach.[1] It is relatively easy to demonstrate the pluralist character of Kane's idea of the "process of government" by comparing some of his remarks with quotations culled from major pluralist works:

Orientation Questions	*Representative Kane*	*Pluralists*
1. *What is politics?*	"...politics is the allocation of power.", p. 21.	"...the subject matter of politics is power."[2]
2. *Which is more important: structure or process?*	"...there is little feeling for democratic politics as a process.", p. 19.	"...[this] book attempts... to analyze and describe the *process* of government in the United States."[3]

Orientation Questions	Representative Kane	Pluralists
3. *What is the effect of the "rules of the game?"*	"...everybody has to play by the rules of the game that are finally decided on. But some rules are better for you than others...", p. 21.	"Although the effect of formal structural arrangements is not always what its designers intended, these formalities are rarely neutral."[4]
4. *Who wields direct political influence?*	"...Power is never exercised by the many. It is always exercised by the few.", p. 22.	"...a few persons have great direct influence on the choices that are made; most citizens, by contrast, have little direct influence."[5]
5. *What will the decision-making process look like?*	"In a democratic system in which the basic decision-making rule is that decisions are made by majority vote, the inevitable results are compromise and vote trading.", p. 24.	"...a temporarily viable legislative decision usually must involve the adjustment and compromise of interests."[6]
6. *What is the public interest?*	"Beware of those who stress the public interest.", p. 27.	"In developing a group interpretation of politics we do not need to account for a totally inclusive interest because one does not exist."[7]

In short, pluralists have a decidedly realistic view which stresses politics as a struggle for power among competing interests. Pluralists say that the rules of the democratic game are not necessarily fair or neutral and that usually the few make decisions for the many (but decisions which they are accountable for in elections).[8] They hold that the decision-making process inevitably involves bargaining and compromises in which no objective definition of the public interest is possible. Rather, the process yields a result which is "imperfect and temporal." It is important to conceive of politics as an on-going process in which rewards are distributed according to political power. It is not a final solution to anything.

Given the pluralist image of politics, choices made by political actors which seem irrational or immoral from other perspectives become understandable and defensible.

The pluralist image, of course, is not the only conception of the political process. Some of the differences between pluralists and their critics are noted in Professor Everson's chapter on policy initiation. One alternative image of politics emphasizes that politics is concerned with the public good, that the rules of the game should emphasize political equality and majority rule, that there should be mass participation in decision-making, that government should not submit to compromises between active groups, but rather should represent the majority and the public interest.

It could be argued that the pluralist position represents empirical reality and the majority democracy position (given above) is based on ideal values. But facts and values are difficult to separate. There is a tendency to convert the realistic, pluralist approach into normative statements; to say, in short, "this is the way the system operates and, therefore, the way it *ought to operate.*" On the other hand, it is possible that majority rule democracy is a feasible goal. The tension between the realism of pluralist and the idealism of majoritarian democracy should be kept in mind in analyzing the process of political decision-making and for understanding political choices and values.

An Analytical Model

The four papers following Representative Kane's discussion present a basic disciplinary framework from political science. Using the four-stage model of public policy development, each chapter analyzes one stage and its implications for understanding the political process. The four stages are an effective way of explaining the way the political structure actually operates. It argues, in effect, against the current overemphasis at the secondary school level on formal government structure.

The four stages are: (1) initiation of policy demands, (2) enactment of public policy, (3) implementation of public policy, and (4) assessment of the impact of public policy. Academic inquiry in political science and public administration has tended to concentrate on the middle two stages: enactment and implementation. But recent work has indicated the importance of the other two stages as well. The model emphasizes two important characteristics of the policy-making process: (1) the dependency of later stages of the process on earlier stages (in defining the limits of decision), and (2) the influence of political criteria at every stage of the process. In some ways the model also allows the process to be viewed as a cycle as well, with assessment resulting in identification of new demands which leads to initiation.

Initiation of policy demands is analyzed in depth by David H. Everson in Chapter Three. He claims initiation primarily involves setting the agenda of political discussion. To a great extent, the management of the conflict agenda is the major task of any political system and the results determine what the political system does. Consequently, an understanding of the factors affecting the initiation of policy demands, and particularly, the factors influencing the automatic exclusion of certain issues or alternatives from consideration, is critically important for understanding the policy-making process. The study of policy initiation directs attention to the dominant values of the system and the patterns of power distribution in the non-governmental arena as well as the role of elections, parties, interest groups and the mass media in defining the political agenda.

Ronald Hedlund and Keith Hamm analyze the enactment stage in Chapter Four. This stage refers to the actual determination of public policies by elected representatives. In the American context, enactment primarily involves legislative decision and executive concurrence. The major issue is what factors affect the legislative enactment of policy in the states. The process of enactment may be seen as one of the *conversion* of demands (from the initiation stage) into outputs of public policy statements, such as laws. The major factors affecting the process of conversion include: (1) the organizational structure of the legislature; (2) the body's decision-making role and procedures; (3) the leadership styles in the legislature; and (4) the individual predispositions of its members. In addition, understanding the enactment process involves understanding the relationship of the legislature with its environment. Thus, if the outputs of the legislative process are not adequate responses to the demands of the environment, pressure may be created to alter the *internal* pattern of decision-making in the legislature. Finally, political actors such as parties, interest groups and individuals (such as the governor) play a role in the legislative process.

Implementation is the focus of Chapter Five by Herbert Jacob. This stage is the attempt to carry out enacted public policy. In state governments, two different situations are involved in implementation: the use of state agencies to carry out policy or the implementation of policy through autonomous local bodies. In either case, implementation is often problematical. A condition for implementation is effective communication of policy intent. There are multiple reasons why such effective communication may not exist in public organizations. One is that the "message" sent (the public policy intent) may not be clear because it is a product of a political compromise which requires an ambiguous message. Also, policies which require extra effort and which upset establishment routines or are not supported in the environment are likely to be difficult to implement. Another hazard of implementation is the fragmentation of government. There is no final coordinating authority for carrying out many policies. All the competing authorities often have to be brought together to hammer out compromises about jurisdiction, interpretation, and priorities. This becomes a version of the enactment process all over again. This problem becomes especially acute in dealing with local agencies of government which may not share the interests of the state in implementing a given policy. Extracting compliance may be difficult or impossible. Despite these barriers, implementation of policy in many areas is routine.

The final stage is assessment. Alan Rosenthal in his analysis in Chapter Six views this stage as the attempt to evaluate the impact of policy implementation, presumably in light of its intent. One presumed purpose of assessment would be to modify policy at earlier stages in the process in order to achieve intent or to alter intent by a new round of initiation, enactment and implementation. Assessment is performed by a variety of political actors including administrators, interest groups, political executives, and legislatures. The perspectives of these actors on assessment varies. For example, those who administer policies are peripheral in terms of broad scale assessment of what they are doing. Assessment of policy outcomes has become more crucial as public and legislative concern about administrative accountability and cost-effectiveness in programs has grown. Nevertheless, the incentives for critical assessment are probably outweighed by the realities of the situation or the temptation to pursue other goals (such as the creation of new programs). Moreover, there is a danger that assessment may generate more information and work than the administrative system can handle, creating problems of implementation.

Problems and Hopes

Problems and hopes for translating this analytical framework described above into understandable curriculum materials for teachers is the goal of Chapter Seven. Four important analyses are presented in this chapter. The first discusses the ills of civic education and the problems facing the teaching of state government and politics in the secondary school. The next analysis deals with an apparent curriculum revolution which the authors argue has occurred during the last two decades. The third analysis focuses upon what will be needed to mount a major curriculum development effort to improve the teaching of state government within the civic curriculum. The final section of this chapter deals with the very difficult question of generalizability which must be faced by those who would develop materials to improve instruction about state government and politics. Many are convinced that curriculum materials about state government and politics must, by nature, be situationally specific.

That is, curriculum materials about state government and politics developed for one state will have little if any value for students in other states. If this is the case, it would appear impractical to develop materials for all fifty states. A solution to this problem concludes Chapter Seven and this work.

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Kenneth E. Mitchell
Springfield, Illinois
March 1, 1978

REFERENCES

[1] The *locus classicus* of the pluralist image is Arthur F. Bentley, *The Process of Government*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908. Note the title!

[2] Earl Latham "The Group Basis of Politics: Notes for a Theory," in H. R. Mahood (ed.), *Pressure Groups in American Politics.* New York: Scribner's, 1967, p. 30.

[3] David B. Truman's modern classic statement of group theory is titled *The Governmental Process,* a rearrangement of Bentley's title. New York: Knopf, 1971, 2nd edition, p. xx. Emphasis in the original.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 322.

[5] Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1971, p. 101. This is also a major pluralist work.

[6] Truman, *op.cit.*, p. 392.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[8] See Dahl's arguments, *op cit.*, p. 101. His emphasis is on the control induced by "anticipated reactions."

CHAPTER 1

TEACHING ABOUT STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

John J. Patrick
Indiana University

EDITORS' NOTE:

John J. Patrick is Associate Professor of Education at Indiana University. He taught history and civics in two Chicago area high schools for seven years before moving to Indiana University. He is co-author of American Political Behavior *(1977),* Toward Effective Instruction in Secondary Social Studies *(1974) and* The Young Voter *(1974).*

Patrick, in this chapter, gives an overview of the teaching of state government in the secondary schools of the United States. It is clear that future citizens must be better informed about the process of public policy-making in the states, but Patrick's research shows that little is being done in our schools to accomplish this. The chapters which follow Patrick's analysis of the current state of affairs argue that state government and politics is important and should be understood by all. Patrick's work makes it obvious that this is not being done.

INTRODUCTION

State governments have had a special place in our political life. Their significance is intertwined with our national identity. The United States of America is more than the name of our country. It also describes our political system (federalism) in which powers and duties are divided between one central government and fifty state governments.

Throughout our history the states and their governments have been important political units. The states existed before we had any real national government. Delegates from the thirteen states met in Philadelphia in 1787 "to form a more perfect union." Conflict over "states' rights" has been a constant issue since the creation of our political system.

We live in a nation with state governments which make decisions that may profoundly affect our lives. Thus, teaching about government and politics in the schools of our fifty states ought to be an important facet of political education. The question to be dealt with is, *is it?*

In order to find an answer to this important question two subquestions have been investigated. First, to what extent are pre-college students exposed to formal instruction regarding state governments and politics? Secondly, what is the substance of formal education about state government and politics to which pre-college students are exposed?

Four kinds of indicators have been examined to gather evidence pertinent to these questions. *First,* statistics about student enrollments and course offerings were analyzed. *Second,* state laws were studied to find requirements in the fifty states concerning instruction about state government and politics. *Third,* curriculum guides issued by state departments of public instruction were reviewed to find information about patterns of course offerings relevant to state government and politics. And *fourth,* a number of widely used textbooks were analyzed to gather data focusing on the substance of instruction about state government and politics.

Using both the data gathered from these indicators and an extensive personal background, this chapter has been organized into three sections. The first section consists of a discussion of the findings derived from an examination of statistics about student enrollment and course offerings, state laws, and curriculum guides. The next section deals with a content analysis of eleven U.S. government textbooks and supplementary materials. The final section consists of an impressionistic commentary about the needs and some promising new practices regarding teaching about state government and politics.

COURSES AND ENROLLMENT, LAWS AND GUIDES

High school courses in U.S. government and civics include units on state government and politics. Thus, statistics about student enrollment and course offerings in these subjects provide clues about student exposure to lessons about state government and politics.

More than one and one-quarter million students are exposed to units in state government and politics each year through the U.S. government course, which is usually taught in one semester to twelfth graders. The American government course ranks third in student enrollments, behind U.S. history and world history, among offerings in the high school social studies curriculum. In 1973, 45 percent of the nation's high schools offered a course in U.S. government. (See TABLE 1)[1]

TABLE 1
ENROLLMENT IN SOCIAL STUDIES COURSES

Enrollment, Grades 9-12

Course	1961	1973	Percent Change	% of Schools Offering Course
U.S. History	1,994,000	3,464,000	+ 74%	53%
World History	1,471,000	1,541,000	+ 5%	51%
U.S. Government	780,000	1,306,000	+ 67%	45%
Sociology	289,000	796,000	+175%	36%
World Geography	595,000	736,000	+ 24%	45%
Economics	293,000	592,000	+102%	36%
Psychology	140,000	590,000	+323%	30%
Civics	733,000	449,000	– 39%	21%
Problems of Democracy	380,000	298,000	– 22%	20%

In 22 states, instruction in American government is required by state law. In 16 other states this course is either recommended by the state department of public instruction, is a popular elective course, or is a common requirement of local school districts. (See TABLE 2.)[2]

TABLE 2
COURSE OFFERINGS PERTAINING TO STATE GOVERNMENT OR POLITICS IN THE FIFTY STATES

Subject	*Number and Proportion of the Fifty States in Which Instruction Is:*		
	Required	Recommended, Popular Elective or Common Local Requirement	Totals
American Government	(22) 44%	(16) 32%	(38) 76%
Civics	(09) 18%	(07) 14%	(16) 32%
Unit or Course in State Government	(26) 52%	(03) 6%	(29) 58%
State Constitution	(18) 36%	(.0) 0%	(18) 36%

Almost half a million students take civics, mainly in the eighth or ninth grades, which includes lessons in state government and politics. Unlike the American government course, enrollment in civics has been declining. TABLE 1 points out that less than 25 percent of the nation's schools offer this subject.

Civics is a requirement in only nine states. In seven states civics is either recommended in state curriculum guides, a popular elective, or a typical course requirement in local school districts (see TABLE 2).

TABLE 2 also shows that about one half of the states require some sort of formal education in the governmental institutions of the state. The criterion for inclusion in this group of states was a statutory specification that some kind of unit, course, or topic about state government must be included in the social studies curriculum.

The form and extent of mandated instruction about state government is quite various both between and within states. It is impossible, given the evidence available, to describe patterns of course offerings exactly. The task of formulating sound generalizations is venturesome and hazardous. However, within the context of these precautionary remarks, a rough picture of course offerings can be presented.

Study of the state constitution is required by law in 18 states. Ten percent of the states require that students pass a test on the state constitution in order to graduate from high school.

In several states, required instruction in the state government is conveyed through a course in state history, state culture, or state studies. For example, in Arizona and Washington, mandated lessons in the state constitution and government are part of a required course in state history. In West Virginia, topics pertaining to state government may be included in a required course in West Virginia studies.

A few states (New York, Tennessee, Nevada) prescribe instruction in state government to be included in required courses in U.S. history. In other states, Texas and Virginia for example, the mandated study of the state government is part of a required course in U.S. government. Several states permit required instruction in the state constitution to be fused with some sort of general citizenship or social studies course. However, the range of coverage of state government in these various course offerings may extend from ample emphasis to a very few lessons.

In at least two states (North Dakota and Vermont) the study of state government is commonly included in courses about local and state law. In a few states, Maryland and Mississippi are examples, a combined course in state and local government is offered.

THE SUBSTANCE OF INSTRUCTION

Content in Textbook Materials

The best single indicator of course content in the schools is the textbook used in the classroom. This is the only common foundation for instruction across the nation. Certainly teachers in different localities create their own lessons in government and politics and use supplementary materials; however, they tend to rely on one or more texts to provide the framework and much of the basic substance of their courses. In areas where students are exposed to the study of state government and politics primarily or exclusively through a civics or U.S. government course, standard textbooks in these subjects are likely to be especially good indicators of the form, substance, and extent of coverage of this topic.

The content of textbooks can be a useful indicator of educators' preferences, because they tend to be designed to satisfy consumer demands. One might assume that the best selling texts attend to the objectives and needs of large numbers of teachers and their supervisors. *What do widely-used textbooks in civics and government reveal about the form, substance, and extent of coverage of state government and politics?*

To gather evidence pertinent to this question, the following widely used textbooks were analyzed. They are listed in alphabetical order by publisher.

1. William A. McClenaghan, *Magruder's American Government*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1975.
2. Robert Carter and John M. Richards, *Of, By, and For the People*, Westchester, IL: Benefic Press, 1973.
3. Grant T. Ball and Lee J. Rosch, *Civics*, Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1973.
4. Howard D. Mehlinger and John J. Patrick, *American Political Behavior*, Lexington, MA: Ginn and Company, 1977.
5. William H. Hartley and William S. Vincent, *American Civics*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1974.
6. Allen Schick and Adrienne Pfister, *American Government: Continuity and Change*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975.
7. Stuart Gerry Brown, Russell F. Farnen, Jr., and Charles L. Peltier, *Government, The American System*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973.
8. John R. Madden *et al.*, *Practical Politics and Government in the United States*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1976.
9. Miriam Rohrer Resnick and Lillian Herlich Nerenberg, *American Government in Action*, Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1973.

10. Peter Woll and Robert H. Binstock, *America's Political System*, New York: Random House, Inc., 1972.
11. William Ebenstein and Edward W. Mill, *American Government in the Twentieth Century*, Morristown, NJ: Silver Burdett, 1973.

The extent of coverage of state government and politics in these texts tends to be less than fifteen percent of the total content as shown in TABLE 3. Only two of the eleven books in this survey include state government and politics as much as fifteen percent of the total content. Only these two texts contained 80 or more pages on some aspect of state government and politics. Two books have less than 30 pages on this topic (Benefic and Harcourt).

TABLE 3
COVERAGE OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT OR CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

Book (Identified Alphabetically by Publisher)	Total Pages	Pages on State Government and Politics	Proportion of Content
1. Allyn and Bacon	600	72	12%
*2. Benefic	404	29	7%
*3. Follett	468	53	11%
4. Ginn	572	87	15%
*5. Harcourt	502	27	5%
6. Houghton Mifflin	564	74	13%
7. Macmillan (A)	322	43	13%
*8. Macmillan (B)	552	53	10%
9. Merrill	553	91	16%
10. Random House	747	58	8%
11. Silver Burdett	648	76	12%

*These books are intended for use in 8th or 9th grade civics or citizenship courses. The others are used primarily in 12th grade American Government courses.

TABLE 4 below shows the extent to which specific topics about the organization and function of state government institutions are covered in the eleven textbooks.[3]

The coverage of each of six topics in proportion to the total coverage of state government and politics is shown for each book. For example, the Allyn and Bacon text contains 72 total pages on state government and politics. Sixteen of these 72 pages deal with the concept of federalism. This represents 22 percent of the total coverage of state government and politics in this book. Federalism tends to have the most extensive coverage among these six topics analyzed in TABLE 4. In five of the eleven books, federalism is given more than 20 percent of the total coverage of state government and politics.

The coverage of state government institutions, as shown in TABLE 4, is so varied as to defy generalization. However, it should be noted that some very important and complex subjects receive little attention. For example, only two books include more than ten pages on the Governor and other executive leaders in state government. Similarly, only two books have more than ten pages on the state court system.

TABLE 4 makes it clear that most of these textbooks focus primarily on the institutional nature of state government and give little space to the processes of state government. To what degree do these textbooks analyze political behavior and the processes of state government? TABLE 5 sheds light on this subject.

Three analytical categories were used to get at political behavior. They are (1) interest groups (2) voter behavior and elections and (3) decision-making and leadership in state government.

The last column in TABLE 5 shows the total pages in each book given to instruction about political behavior in the states as distinct from legalistic description of institutions. This column also shows the proportion of the total coverage of state government and politics represented by the pages on political behavior.

Only four books include significant coverage of behavior in state politics and government. These are the two books published by Macmillan and the Ginn and Random House texts. The other seven books give slight attention to politics. For example, the most widely used textbook, published by Allyn and Bacon, includes only *one* page that qualifies as discussion of political behavior in state government. The remainder of this book's pages on state government concern legalistic or historical description of governmental institutions. One book contains no pages whatsoever about political behavior. Overall, six of the eleven books contain five or less pages about political behavior in state government.

The voters and elections topic is especially useful for comparisons of the form and substance of instruction. This category appears in both TABLES 4 and 5. TABLE 4 shows that most of the texts give significant coverage to voter eligibility laws, election campaign laws, and election day procedures. In contrast, TABLE 5 shows that these books include little or no instruction about voter behavior in state elections.

The decision-making and leadership in government category of TABLE 5 also is very revealing when compared with the categories

TABLE 4

COVERAGE OF ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS OF STATE GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT OR CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

Pages and Percentages on Selected Topics

Book (Pages on State Government and Politics	Federalism	Governor and Executive Leaders	Legislative Branch	Court System	Bureaucracy	Voting and Elections
1. Allyn and Bacon (72)	(16) 22%	(6) 8%	(10) 14%	(9) 13%	(8) 11%	(15) 21%
2. Benefic (29)	(6) 21%	(1) 3%	(2) 7%	(6) 21%	(5) 17%	(2) 7%
3. Follett (53)	(4) 7%	(5) 9%	(5) 9%	(6) 11%	(8) 15%	(12) 23%
4. Ginn (87)	(2) 2%	(12) 14%	(11) 13%	(18) 21%	(16) 18%	(13) 15%
5. Harcourt (27)	(2) 7%	(4) 15%	(2) 7%	(2) 7%	(4) 15%	(2) 7%
6. Houghton Mifflan (74)	(18) 24%	(6) 8%	(6) 8%	(5) 7%	(12) 16%	(11) 15%
7. Macmillan (A) (43)	(2) 5%	(4) 9%	(4) 9%	(4) 9%	(4) 9%	(3) 7%
8. Macmillan (B) (53)	(1) 2%	(1) 2%	(0) 0%	(2) 4%	(19) 36%	(25) 49%
9. Merrill (91)	(14) 15%	(14) 15%	(11) 12%	(15) 16%	(12) 13%	(14) 15%
10. Random House (58)	(25) 43%	(1) 2%	(8) 14%	(4) 7%	(2) 3%	(7) 12%
11. Silver Burdett (76)	(28) 37%	(7) 9%	(6) 8%	(2) 3%	(17) 22%	(11) 14%

TABLE 5

COVERAGE OF BEHAVIOR IN STATE POLITICS IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT OR CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

Pages and Percentages on Political Behavior Topics

Book (Pages on State Government and Politics	Interest Groups	Voters and Elections	Decision Making and Leadership in Government	Total Coverage of Political Behavior
1. Allyn and Bacon (72)	(0) 0%	(1) 1%	(0) 0%	(1) 1%
2. Benefic (29)	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%
3. Follett (53)	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(1) 2%	(1) 2%
4. Ginn (87)	(12) 14%	(4) 5%	(24) 21%	(40) 46%
5. Harcourt (27)	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(2) 7%	(2) 7%
6. Houghton Mifflin (74)	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(9) 12%	(9) 12%
7. Macmillan (A) (43)	(15) 30%	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(15) 30%
8. Macmillan (B) (53)	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(20) 38%	(20) 38%
9. Merrill (91)	(1) 1%	(0) 0%	(4) 4%	(5) 5%
10. Random House (58)	(4) 7%	(0) 0%	(11) 19%	(15) 26%
11. Silver Burdett (76)	(0) 0%	(0) 0%	(2) 3%	(2) 3%

on the three branches of state government in TABLE 4. Only three books include substantial instruction about decision-making and leadership in state government. Most of the coverage of state government officials concerns their legal powers and duties. Little or no instruction is provided about how decisions are made or leadership is exercised, which is essential if one is to teach understanding of political and governmental processes.

The absence of instruction about interest groups in state politics and government also indicates the non-political tone of the texts. The slight coverage of state government in most of these books is devoted to lifeless descriptions of institutional structures. Except for the Ginn, Macmillan, and Random House books, the slim overall treatment of state government is devoid of the drama of political life.

The instructional styles of these books tends to be consistent with the rather bland content about state government. Only the Ginn text and the Macmillan (B) book feature extensive use of dramatic case studies about political behavior. Only these two books require students continually to apply ideas, information and skills to analyze cases and solve problems. In general, the texts feature lengthy narrative descriptions followed by questions which mostly require students to recall information or definitions. Potpourris of suggested activities, most of which are tangential to the contents of preceding narratives, also tend to be listed.

Content in Supplementary Materials

Supplementary books on state governments used in high schools also tend to stress legalistic and historical descriptions of institutions and to slight instruction about political behavior. For example, the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce publishes *Here is Your Indiana Government*, which is used as a supplementary book in civics and U.S. government courses in Indiana.[4] This book is encyclopedic in its treatment of information about government institutions of Indiana. However, the book is dry and lacks instruction about citizen participation or the dynamics of decision-making and leadership in government.

A book on *Your Virginia State Government* by the League of Women Voters of Virginia is more readable and less overwhelming in detail than is the Indiana book.[5] However, this book is too long on institutional description and short on instruction in political realities.

Illinois Government and Institutions, published by Allyn and Bacon, is similar to the preceding books in that it focuses on detailed information about the framework of state government and legalistic description. It also is filled with idealistic commentary about the "American democratic heritage" and lacks instruction about political activity of citizens and officials in government.[6]

IMPRESSIONS ABOUT NEEDS AND PROMISING NEW PRACTICES

Available evidence indicates that teaching about state government has low priority among social studies educators. American government is a staple of the high school curriculum. However, coverage of state government within these courses tends to be slight. The national government receives most emphasis in these courses. Even local governments tend to be featured more extensively than state governments. Political behavior at all levels of government, especially the state level, tends to be neglected.

The requirement of formal education about state government in as many as 26 states is deceptive. In many areas, this topic is treated rather briefly as part of a course in citizenship, state history, U.S. history, state studies, or general social studies. Teaching about state government and politics tends to be submerged in a morass of other topics and subjects. It is rarely a main feature of the curriculum in school districts across the country.

It does not seem likely that most students could learn much about state government and politics in our schools, since the coverage and quality of instruction seems to be slight in most places. Various surveys document the lack of political knowledge of most American adolescents and adults. As might be expected, these surveys reveal more ignorance of government and politics at the state level than at the national and local levels. For example, the recent Louis Harris survey done for the Senate Committee on Government Operations shows that a large majority of citizens (73%) say that they know very little about "what is going on in state government in their state capitol."[7] Much lower proportions of our citizens admit ignorance of happenings in their local (57%) or national (60%) governments.[8] Most citizens appear to be ignorant of how they might take part in politics to influence any of their governments, state, national, or local.[9]

Available evidence suggests the need to reconstruct formal education about state government and politics in our schools. At the very least, a larger proportion of the content of American government or civics courses should be used for instruction in state government and politics. In addition, more emphasis should be placed on teaching about political realities rather than merely about institutional frameworks and legal prescriptions. Students need to know how decisions are made in government, how to influence these decisions, and how leadership is exercised both in government and in interest groups. To teach anything less is to condemn most students to ignorance of political processes which deeply affect the way they live.

Various innovators recently have recognized the need to improve formal education about state government and politics. A few of these promising new practices are described briefly below.

New Textbooks Highlighting Politics

During the past five years, there has been ferment in the long dormant field of civics and government textbook development. At least four major innovative texts now feature lessons about political behavior as well as instruction about governmental institutions. One of these new texts is published by Scholastic as a four volume set. One volume is titled *State and Local Government.* About eighteen percent of the four volume set is used to teach about state government and politics. The Scholastic program features numerous case studies about political behavior and a variety of intriguing instructional techniques. The main weakness is lack of a tight conceptual framework that would more effectively connect the lessons and make them more meaningful to students. A more powerful structure would also facilitate acquisition and application of knowledge presented in the program.

New State Curriculum Guides Stressing Political Behavior and Improved Teaching Techniques

Education departments in various states attempt to influence teaching through publication of curriculum guides. These guides may include statements of goals and objectives, suggested course outlines, example lessons, and lists of various instructional resources.

A few newer guides pertaining to government and politics are noteworthy. They stress learning about political behavior and processes as well as institutional description. They also emphasize the value of helping students develop thinking skills that can be used to analyze and appraise political institutions and the performances of public officials. *Wisconsin's Descriptors for Political Understanding,* the Texas Education Agency's *American Government: A Resource Guide,* Louisiana's *Citizenship Education,* and Virginia's *Citizenship* are four examples of outstanding new guides issued by state departments of education.[10] For example, the Wisconsin guide states: "Political science is the study of human political behavior as well as the political institutions established by people."[11] In a discussion of components of citizenship education the Wisconsin guide stresses that citizens need to know the way their political world is, and how to think about it analytically and evaluationally.[12]

The Illinois Office of Education has designed *Guidelines for Teaching and Testing the Illinois Constitution* which guides teachers in carrying out the requirement to teach about the state constitution and government. This guide presents both goals for teaching about state government and politics and sample test items related to these goals.[13] The goals and sample items are presented as models to guide development of lessons and tests at the local school district level.

The Illinois guide highlights the value of higher level cognition and learning in developing lessons and test items about state government and politics. The guide also criticizes courses which "stress the structure and form of government rather than its living spirit." It calls for teaching about "the substance of our governmental system as much as with its mechanics."[14]

Using Educational Television to Teach About Politics and Government

The Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction has been involved in the design of a new set of fourteen educational television programs in political education. The project is titled *It's Up To You* and includes one program focusing on state government. Other programs pertain to national, local, and international politics. They stress political behavior in the experiences of students as well as in the world of adult citizens. A teacher's guide with tests, supplementary lessons, and lists of additional teaching resources has been published to accompany the television programs.[15]

Law Education Programs

Projects to develop lessons about the law have mushroomed during the past ten years. The best of these programs have been published as textbooks or as supplementary units. Two fine examples are *Justice in America*, and *The American Legal System.*[16] Both sets of instructional materials include substantial content pertinent to state law and government. These materials utilize innovative teaching techniques designed to prompt student application of information, ideas, and skills.

An indicator of the growing popularity of law education programs is that a course about law is required in four states and recommended and/or widely offered in seventeen other states.[17]

The Vermont State Department of Education has become a leader in this field through its legal education project, which has published an elaborate curriculum resource book for teachers, *Vermont Legal Education Guide.*[18] More than 30 percent of this guide includes commentary and lessons on "Topics in Vermont Law." The Vermont guide includes various kinds of innovative lessons, especially dramatic case studies.

University-Based Projects

Curriculum projects based at university campuses have been leaders in recent social studies curriculum reforms. At least two current projects deserve mention for developing instructional materials and procedures that might improve education about state government and politics.

The Institute of Government at the University of Georgia has developed materials on Georgia state and county government and voting in state and local elections, which are used extensively in Georgia schools. These materials include various kinds of lessons such as case studies, games and role playing. The availability of these new lessons facilitates the efforts of Georgia teachers to carry out the requirement to teach about Georgia government.[19]

The Citizenship Decision-Making Project at the Mershon Center, Ohio State University, has developed lessons for political education for use in grades four through eight. This project was supported by the Ohio Department of Education. It consists of four units: "Decisions and You," "Skills in Making Political Decisions," "Skills in Judging Political Decision," and "Skills in Influencing Political Decisions." The lessons are not especially about state government and politics, although some case studies are about Ohio state government. However, the major concepts of the program pertain basically to the study of politics and government in any setting. The decision-making framework is very relevant to studying the realities of politics in state government. It could provide a conceptual structure for a unit or a course on state government.[20]

The emphasis on skills development fosters an active, learn-by-doing style. It increases the likelihood that learning might be transferred to the political world outside the school.

CONCLUSION

There is a need for more extensive treatment of state government and politics in schools; that is, if we want our students to know more adequately about all three levels of our political system. There is a need for emphasis on political behavior and processes and less coverage of details about institutional structures. Further, there is a need for more lessons which require students to develop and use thinking skills to analyze and evaluate government and political behavior.

Various examples of innovative practices suggest that exciting reforms in political education are beginning to meet these needs, if on a rather small scale at present. A few outstanding new state curriculum guides highlight improvements in political education which have been developed in recent years. Projects such as those of the University of Georgia Institute of Government and of the Vermont State Department of Education give promise that these improvements may be applied to units or courses on state government and politics more extensively in the future. Thus, one might conclude that the status of teaching about state government and politics is not as high as it might or should be. However, it is not as low as it has been. Now is an appropriate time to generate ideas and actions to prompt continued improvements in political education about state government.

Representative Douglas Kane, whose chapter follows, gives some important insights into the processes of state government. His comments are followed by four papers which outline an analytical model of state government. This model represents an important initial step that can be used in the development of curriculum materials which should aid secondary students in becoming better informed about the way public policy is made at the state level and how those policies affect every citizen's life.

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[1] Logan Ostendorf, *Summary of Offerings and Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools,* 1972-3, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Education Division, 1975, pp. 9 and 18; Richard E. Gross, "The Status of the Social Studies in the Public Schools of the United States: Facts and Impressions of a National Survey," *Social Education,* 41:3 (March 1977), p. 196.

[2] Data in TABLE 2 were derived from telephone or mail contacts with 35 of the 50 state departments of public instruction. Relevant sections of state laws, state curriculum guides, and pertinent comments were received from these 35 contacts. Data on course requirements and offerings in the remaining states were derived from Jerri Sutton, *National Survey in Social Studies Education, Kindergarten-Grade 12,* Richmond: Virginia Department of Education, 1976.

[3] Editors' Note: When summing the total number of pages for each book found in TABLE 4 and 5 that related to state government and politics, the reader will note that the total does not equal 100% for some of the books. The reason for this apparent discrepancy is attributable to the fact that some of the pages did not contain information which fitted into the categories used for Patrick's analysis. Rather than include a category of "miscellaneous," Patrick chose to have the sum not equal to 100%.

On the other hand, several of the books analyzed have more than 100% when TABLE 4 and 5 are summed. The reason for this discrepancy is that a number of the pages analyzed in these texts had references to the content outlined in both TABLE 4 and 5. That is, a particular page might have information on Federalism (TABLE 4) as well as Interest Groups (TABLE 5).

[4] Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, *Here Is Your Indiana Government,* Indianapolis, 1975.

[5] League of Women Voters of Virginia, *Your Virginia State Government,* Vienna, Virginia, 1975.

[6] Theodore L. Carlson, *Illinois Government and Institutions,* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1973.

[7] Louis Harris, *Confidence and Concern: Citizens View American Government: A Survey of Public Attitudes* done for the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p. 239.

[8] *Ibid.* pp. 238 and 240.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 256. See also *Education for Citizenship,* Denver: National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1976, p. 29.

[10] Wisconsin Social Studies Curriculum Study Committee, *Descriptors for Political Understanding,* Madison: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1977; Social Studies

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[11] Wisconsin Social Studies Curriculum Study Committee, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

[13] *Guidelines for Teaching and Testing the Illinois Constitution*, Springfield: Illinois Office of Education.

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[15] *It's Up to You, Teacher's Guide*, Madison: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1977.

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[19] Institute of Government, *Teaching About Government in* Georgia?, Athens: University of Georgia. This catalog lists several publications about state government in Georgia which have been written by the Institute of Government Staff.

[20] Richard C. Remy, Roger LaRaus and Judy Kies, *Citizenship Decision-Making*, Columbus: Mershon Center at Ohio State University, 1976. These materials will be published soon by Addison Wesley.

CHAPTER 2

AN INSIDER'S VIEW OF STATE GOVERNMENT

Honorable Douglas Kane
House of Representatives
State of Illinois

EDITORS' NOTE:

The Honorable Douglas N. Kane is a State Representative from the 50th District, State of Illinois. He was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives in 1974.

The realistic approach of the professional politician in Kane's chapter is especially valuable. He writes clearly and to the point. One gains the feeling that this is a knowledgeable political actor who understands what it is like to be an elected official and can "tell it the way it is."

He is critical of political science models; however, he presents two very important considerations for a model of state government. First, he stresses that politics involves power and conflict and he illustrates how that power is used in the political arena. Second, he focuses on the need for compromise that a legislator faces in the day-to-day operation of a state legislature.

In conclusion, Kane cautions the reader about confusing means and ends, actions justified by an ill-defined public interest, and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of seeking final governmental solutions to problems.

INTRODUCTION

Presenting an overview of state government is a rather broad task and allows me a great deal of latitude. The editors of this volume have asked me to address the growing role of state government in our federal system and how we can pass on what we have discovered to high school students in some better way than we do now. The remarks outlined below do not really fulfill this mission. I will assume that state government is growing in importance, is worth studying, and we need to devise better ways of teaching high school students state government and politics. Professor Patrick's analysis of teaching about state government and politics in secondary schools supports the latter assumption well. As far as the other two assumptions are concerned, I will defer to the political scientists who have contributed to this volume for further proof. Having said this I will pass on to something more useful, I hope more interesting, and certainly more provocative.

A Personal Note

I reacted very negatively to the four chapters which follow when I first reviewed them. To me they evidenced little interest in, understanding of, or interaction with everyday grubby politics.

They took me back to the days when I was a graduate student working on a Ph.D. in economics – that most scientific of the social sciences, the envy of the softer social sciences, and the object of bemused interest by the practitioners of physics and chemistry. They reminded me of all the journal articles I read and the economic textbook models which begin with assuming perfect competition, perfect knowledge and flexible prices. Those assumptions make good models and rigorous analysis, but they ignore the life and interest of the economic world and the results often prove to be meaningless. For the political scientist too, it is safer, easier and professionally more rewarding, to concentrate on what makes the profession a science than on what makes politics a living, moving, vital force.

I was also carried back to the days when I was staff director for the Democratic leadership in the Illinois House of Representatives. Members would receive questionnaires from earnest graduate students and turn them over to me to answer. I was careful, however, not to skew the students' samples by answering all of their questionnaires the same way. I thought a little variation would make the results of their regression analyses more interesting. What struck me most about all those questionnaires was that regardless of who designed them, they did not ask the right questions. The questions betrayed a complete lack of understanding of the legislative process, at least as I experienced it.

I was also reminded of the bad things we did to graduate students fresh out of college who showed up each fall to begin a year as legislative interns. We simply played on the expectations they had after four years of high school, four years of college and sometimes three years of law school, of what goes on in Springfield and the state legislature. After a year, every intern who went through had a very different opinion of the legislature and the legislative process than when he began. And virtually without exception it was a higher opinion.

Politics in the Classroom

My high school graduating class will be having its twentieth reunion this year. It has been a while since I have had much exposure to high school government, civics, and political science teaching. I have talked with more recent graduates, however, and in the course of campaigns I have talked with numerous classes and have watched high school students in action. From this limited exposure, I draw two conclusions. First, political science taught at the high school level is structurally and institutionally oriented. Second, the value system engendered is one of "them" against "us," private interests against the public interest, politicians against the people, right against wrong, the good guys against the bad guys.

There is little feeling communicated of democratic politics as a process, a means of controlling conflict among groups which all might be right, a way of peacefully allocating power and resources among a wide variety of interests, and a mechanism for making decisions. Those are my impressions. I will leave to other contributors to this volume a more definitive analysis. If I can make any contribution it will be about politics itself.

The Essence of Politics

I have chosen to deal with politics because I am a politician and make no apology for it. I like politics. Politics is what makes society run and government work. But few of us are really comfortable with it. In private discussion politics occupies much the same position that sex did twenty years ago. Everybody knows something about it, everybody engages in it in some form or other, but no one talks to dinner companions about it. We seldom discuss over dinner what makes it good and what makes it not so good. We find ourselves in the process of trying to take politics out of everything. I fear, however, that like the Victorians and Freud learned about sex, if you repress the open, normal expression of politics, it will manifest itself in other forms. The urge is there and it will find its way out.

Politics is also like sex in another way. If you have not experienced it, you do not know what it is. You may have read all the "how to do it" books, you may have some idea of the techniques involved, your best friends may tell you all about it, but until you have experienced it you do not know much about it.

Two examples may be helpful in applying this more closely to politics. There was a reporter who covered the Illinois General Assembly for the *Chicago Daily News.* He sat in the press box three feet from the chair he was to occupy later when he was elected state representative. But after moving those three feet and occupying the chair on the floor for six months he wrote this for his old newspaper:

> It's only a few feet from the press box in the Illinois House of Representatives to one of the big red leather chairs on the House floor. But when you make the transition from newspaper correspondent to member of the General Assembly as I did last January, you enter a new world. I never quite realized how different it would be . . . it isn't as easy as it looks.

He went on to mention "pressures, frustrations, the constant necessity for making decisions and the close contact with hundreds of human problems," as things he had not understood.

A more recent example, and more surprising, involves Walter Mondale, now Vice-President of the United States who served in the U.S. Senate for twelve years. Commenting on the problems (politics) of putting together a new administration, he said, "I had no notion of how difficult it would be."

It is no secret that politics and politicians have a bad image these days. But despite this general image, politics is a great American sport both for those who participate and those who watch. Unlike football, however, where innumerable commentators tell you what to look for, who to watch, how to keep your eye on the line play rather than the spectacular pass, and how adjustments are made to different offenses and defenses, in politics everyone is on his own. The commentators only tell us which team they want to win, and why the members are such good fellows. That does not help us follow the action, or help us understand what is going on.

The textbooks do not help much either. They simply tell us how long the field is, how wide it is, how high the goal posts are, that each team has four downs to advance ten yards, a touchdown is worth six points, an extra point is worth one or two, and a field goal is worth three. It sounds a lot like the government textbooks. There are three branches of government – the executive, legislative, and judicial. Laws are passed by the legislative branch. There are such things as a committee system, an electoral college, a cabinet, a merit selection for judges and the executive veto. These statements are obviously true, but there is no flavor for the game, the surge up the field, the goal line stand, the strain of muscle and bone, the taste of sweat, and the realization that high above the stands sit spotters watching for weaknesses and devising strategies.

In politics too, we need to feel the beat and the pulse, the adrenaline rising, before we can appreciate and understand the game.

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

There are a number of perceptions that I have of the political process that I would like to share with you. You should keep in mind that since most of my experience has been in and around the legislature I may be using the adjectives political and legislative more interchangeably than is warranted. Given that caveat, however, these are my perceptions. You can accept them or reject them, but I ask you to consider the questions of how well they reflect actuality, how well they can be put to use, and to what extent they are reflected in the secondary school curriculum.

Politics and Power

The first perception is that politics is the allocation of power. This is not a particularly new perception, but one we do not tell our young people about.

In every legislative session groups come to ask that the rules for the games they play in be changed to enhance their power, to secure a greater allocation of the scarce resources. I like to compare this process to a basketball game and rules. If you have a tall team you like narrow lanes and high baskets. If you have a short team you want wide lanes and low baskets. Everybody has to play by the rules that are finally decided on. But some rules are better for you than others, so you work to get the most advantageous rules adopted so that you have a better chance to win.

Larry Margolis, who used to be Jesse Unruh's right hand man, and who has been active in state legislative reform for more than a decade, describes government as a means of keeping ourselves from each others' throats while we go about doing the things that have to be done, and making the decisions that have to be made. I recoiled from that description at first. I felt it was too stark and brutal. However, the more I think about it, the more appropriate it seems. We cannot all have everything we want and the government sets the acceptable boundaries for the conflicts. The size of the field and the rules by which we play are set by law and, if we want to change them for our own advantage, we have to change the law, which means getting involved in politics.

There is nothing wrong with this. It is one of the rights protected by the first amendment, the right to assemble peaceably and petition the government. What needs to be kept firmly in mind is that people petition for things that will help themselves, further themselves, give them a larger share of the scarce resources. Obviously, if their petition is granted, someone else's share will be smaller and they in turn may petition, organize a campaign, or find a candidate to run for office who will reflect their point of view.

No particular good or evil needs to be ascribed to the goals that each group seeks. It is the process that needs to be understood and protected. The young need to be taught that they should participate in the process and they also need to know that simply participating does not make success automatic or deserved.

The late Illinois Secretary of State Paul Powell, who left a legacy of some $800,000 in cash of unknown origin when he died, summed up his view of politics with, "My friends sit at the head table." That may be blunt, but after all the sugar coating is stripped away, that is what everybody expects for himself.

Maybe a more distant example will make it easier to accept. Henry II, I think it was, confiscated huge tracts of church lands and turned them over to the middle class, creating an instant landed gentry and a network of people who were grateful to him and faithful to him, and through whom he could govern, administer and unify a divided nation. Our battles are fought now at the ballot box. We have substituted press releases and pretty faces for swords and strong arms. But the result is similar. When your man wins, you expect the things that you are interested in to begin to be accomplished. You expect a tilt in favor of the things you want, the things you have worked for. You are entitled to that. That is how change is accomplished. Sterile debate on the merits of issues do not change things because merit exists on both sides of almost every issue.

The power to lead and change and reward one's friends is limited, however. By constitution we have decided that centralized power is too open to abuse and so we have fragmented it, splitting it up among executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and among federal, state, and local governments. This slows things down. It makes the young, who feel they have all the answers, impatient and willing to overthrow the whole system. But history teaches us – if we can remember that far back, and it seems we are beginning to forget – that the only alternative is centralized power. While it provides the ability to make changes quickly and surely, it is a far greater and more immediate danger than the frustration that is now so evident. We have set up our system so that government has to be slow, has to follow rather than lead the people, has to be a conservative force in society.

We are going through a period of participatory democracy. The slogan is "power to the people." The inherent contradiction in the phrase is ignored. If everyone has it, it is not power. Power is never exercised by the many; it is always exercised by the few. The best the many can do is to devise some means of control over the few to whom power is delegated, and demand that the few are accountable.

Advocates of power to the people are seeking a reduction in the power of the political parties. I would characterize political parties as weak already. The two questions one must always ask when the proposition is made that one group's power should be reduced are these: "What other group is going to gain the power that is lost?" and "Will that group be more or less responsive and accountable than the group that now holds power?" The only two power centers that I see active over a broad range of elective politics today are the political parties and the media. The loss of power by one will result in a gain by the other. We have to be aware of both effects when decisions are made about the allocation of power. We cannot simply say that the political parties are too powerful and should be curbed. We also have to ask the question about who will wield the power taken from the parties and decide whether they will be more or less responsive, more or less open, more or less accountable.

The Power of the Electorate

In talking about power – the power to change the allocation of scarce resources and the power to change the rules of the game to make them more advantageous through legislative action – I would be remiss if I did not mention the elective process by which the members get to the legislature. The power issues here involve the role of group endorsements, money, campaign contributions, and volunteer workers. We also need to question what kind of representation we get in government from this process. Finally, we need to consider the related problem of conflict of interest.

The teaching and the texts in our secondary schools tend to look at decision-making in a vacuum in which the public official weighs all the arguments pro and con and makes his decision objectively on the merits of the case. The assumption is that there is a right decision to be made. It assumes there is a Platonic form out there somewhere and with the right insight, motives and knowledge, the official can in some way base his decisions on that form. Even the models political scientists build of decision-making tend to begin with the legislature already in place and concentrate on external pressures and internal structures, while in reality most decisions were made on election day.

The electorate is probably ahead of most of us in understanding this. When I walk down the street as a candidate I meet you, shake your hand and ask for your vote. Your response is not "yes" or "no," but "Why should I?" or "What do you stand for?" That response translates explicitly or implicitly into "What are you going to do for me?" or "Are you going to make decisions in my favor?"

People want things from their government officials. They want their interests represented. Depending on how badly they want their interests represented, they will contribute money, knock on doors, organize a group with like interests, endorse candidates, work for them, and get all their members to vote for them. In this process the people who get elected have the same interests as the people who did the electing. Farm communities elect farmers. Blue collar areas elect union members. Wealthy suburbs elect lawyers and businessmen. Black areas elect blacks. And everybody expects their representatives to go to the state capitol and fight for their interests. There are sub-groups in all of these areas that also participate and want their interests represented: teachers organize – during the last election in Illinois the IEA contributed $400,000 to campaigns around the state, realtors organize, bankers organize, women organize, dentists organize, doctors organize, unions organize. All of them organize to support people who are committed to make decisions that will favor them, or at least not hurt them. I have yet to see teachers organize to support someone who wants to reduce teachers' salaries and cut teachers' pensions. I have yet to see unions organize to support someone who waffles on the right to work issue. I have yet to see farmers organize to support someone who wants to raise the property tax.

Everyone wants to vote for one of his own, so he knows where that person stands. He knows what his interests are, and since they coincide with his, he is comfortable with that. But moving beyond the election when the person takes office, all of a sudden we hear cries about conflicts of interest. Not only is the member voting to help his constituents, he is voting to help himself. That is part of democracy and the representative system.

I believe students can understand this if you put it in their language. In Illinois now, students are pushing for voting student members on all the boards of trustees of public colleges and universities. Why do they want them there? So their interests will be represented. What do they want? Lower tuition, more scholarship money, fewer restrictions on campus, more faculty contact hours. For the student on the board it is a classic case of conflict of interest. But that is the system we have devised to govern ourselves. It is good. It works. Yet we are teaching our high school students that it is a bad, evil, and corrupt system.

Politics is not a parlor game. In politics real decisions are made. By that I mean that those decisions have concrete effects on actual people. There are real winners and real losers. When workmen's compensation benefits are increased, insurance rates for businessmen go up. When people play for keeps, they play differently than when they play for fun.

Compromise and Vote Trading

The second perception is that, in a democratic system, in which the basic decision-making rule is that decisions are made by majority vote, the inevitable results are compromise and vote trading – two more things that we teach our young people are bad.

But compromise is not bad. We should tell our students that. It is inevitable. It is what makes the system work. The measure of a public person should not be whether or not he compromises, but how and what he is willing to compromise and what he is not willing to compromise.

We all have our own principles, our own ideas of how things should be. Everyone has definite ideas about how to deal with drugs and drug offenders, abortion, capital punishment, equal rights for women, racial discrimination, busing, the criminal justice system, unemployment, tax reform, and urban decay. If we all stood solidly on our individual principles, none of these issues would ever be addressed. There would never be a majority that would initially agree on programs in these areas. So a majority has to be built. A consensus for a particular decision has to be developed and nurtured. That is done only if individuals are willing to compromise to reach agreements.

Which brings us to vote trading. Let's start with an imaginary example. You and your constituents feel strongly about price supports for farm products. I and my constituents are very interested in securing a well functioning mass transportation system. So we trade. I vote for farm supports. You vote for mass transportation. As long as people have different values and consider some things more important than others, there are going to be such conversations as: "If you do this, I'll do that" or "if you vote for this, I'll vote for that." Vote trading is a fact of politics, a part of reaching majority decisions.

Now let me give a real example. Three weeks ago I spent some time talking with a state senator from New York. He is a seminary graduate and a pastor of a church. He represents a district in Harlem. Last year there was a bill up in the New York legislature to allow savings banks to get into the checking business. It was not of great importance to him how he voted. He traded his vote, "sold" it, if you prefer. Before voting for the bill he extracted from the savings banks a commitment to establish a $10 million fund to finance housing rehabilitiation in Harlem. His vote was worth that much to them. You decide whether he did right or wrong. If he should have made that decision on "principle," let me ask you what principle should he have used?

The Need for Political Parties

When we get a galaxy of issues that groups feel comfortable trading votes on, we have the basis for a broad based, multiple interest political party. This is a short cut to reaching majority decisions, sharing power, running the functions of government, and building majority support within the electorate for decisions that benefit only a minority, easing friction, and reducing antagonism. Party platforms, party positions and party discipline all play an important role.

Parties, however, have fallen on bad times. With the exception of the small numbers of people actively involved in party politics, nearly everyone claims they do not vote for the party; they vote for the man. More and more candidates, even though running under party labels, are running against the parties. They stress independence, integrity and personal, individual vision. In Illinois we have just gone through four years with a governor who defined himself politically by being against politicians, against the parties, against the legislature, against the machine in Chicago. More and more candidates are being elected to the legislature by saying I am an independent, send me to Springfield and I will be my own man, I will not follow the dictates of the party leaders. The electorate likes the theme.

What has been the result? Several years ago it took 93 ballots for the Illinois House of Representatives to elect a Speaker. In 1976 it took the Senate about 180 ballots to elect a Senate President. The candidates went to Springfield and they did what they told their constituents they were going to do. They voted as independents. What was the constituent reaction? Outrage. "Such squabbling and indecision is childish, unseemly." "Why is it that they cannot get together?" "They are up there wasting our money, making fools of themselves." "Kids could do better." "We ought to throw all the bums out."

The voters expect and evidently have been taught that they can have the best of both worlds. They want independence without the chaos that results. They want things to run smoothly without the strong party leadership that makes things run smoothly.

Our young people need to be taught that in politics, as in life, things come in systems. Results are inevitably connected with each other. One chooses among systems on the basis of what is good and bad about each system and one cannot choose the goods from two different systems. There is no such thing as a free lunch. You cannot have the best of two worlds.

I have dealt at some length about some of the dynamics that I see regarding how the system works. These are dynamics that I perceive as generally missing from the teaching of government and politics in our schools, but dynamics that are essential to understand if one is to appreciate how our system of government works and why the results are not perfect.

There are a lot of things I have not dealt with in this chapter. Some of them are just as important to the shaping and reaching of decisions. They include such things as personal ambition, friendships, a metabolism that allows a candidate to campaign 18 hours a day for seven days a week, the dynamics of leadership, intelligence, the willingness to do homework, and the chutzpa that allows an individual on his own to deal himself in on decision-making. These are things that do not fit neatly into political process models, but need to be dealt with.

THREE CAUTIONS

In closing, I would like to mention three perspectives about politics we should encourage in the young. The first is to *beware of* *those who confuse ends and means,* those who tend to justify the means they use by the ends they say they are trying to bring about. In politics you never really reach an end; you are always in the process of approaching it. Our process of government, the way we go about making decisions, is what is important. And if we corrupt the process by making the ends we want to achieve justify that corruption, then we have given up our constitution, our rights, our dignity and ultimately, our freedom. Constitutional democracy is a process. It is a means, not an end. Our young people tend to be idealistic, goal oriented, impatient with delays and process. We need to teach them that it is vitally important to protect the means. The ends will come.

The second is to *beware of those who stress the public interest.* There is probably no such thing as the public good or the public interest. There are a lot of private interests that reflect the goals and aspirations of larger or smaller groups of people, but the public interest escapes definition. Probably what comes closest to a good definition of the public interest is the efficient production and equitable distribution of public goods. A public good is a commodity or service that cannot be, or is difficult to be produced and priced in a private, competitive market in an economic sense. For example, such things as education, court systems, prisons, defense, police and fire protection, parks, water and sanitary sewer systems, roads and mass transportation systems are public goods. It is in the public interest, or in the interest of all of us, to produce these services efficiently and distribute them equitably. Much of what government does, however, does not have anything to do with the production and distribution of public goods. It has to do with making of laws, laws that govern the competition between private interest groups. When laws are made or changed some groups will benefit and some groups will lose.

Both sides in a dispute, however, will identify their interests with the public interest. When the environment became an issue the advertising of all the major oil companies began to stress what those companies had done and were doing to protect the environment. Right now in the Illinois General Assembly a big fight is beginning between big banks and small banks – the city banks and small town banks – over branch banking. Illinois now has a unit banking system in which no branches are allowed. And what are both sides saying? "If you vote with us we will make more money and become richer and more powerful." Oh, no. Both sides are saying in extensive advertising campaigns, "If you vote with us, the public interest will be served, the consumer will get better service, and more money will be available for loans to help communities grow." In a very real sense the statements by both groups are true. Each system will provide their consumers a service the other does not. And consumers cannot have both. Whichever way the decision goes, there will be good and bad results. One private interest will be hurt. Another will be served. Some consumers will be helped and others not.

Third, we should teach our students to *beware of those offering final solutions.* There are no perfect plans. Every program has its weaknesses. Every solution creates its own problems. Every proposal bears within it the seeds of its own destruction. That is not to say that things are hopeless or that it is senseless to try to do anything. By no means. It is important that those solutions be found, always remembering they are imperfect and temporal.

Albert Camus in his political essay "The Rebel" expressed this thought well. He wrote:

> Man can master in himself everything that should be mastered. He should rectify in creation everything that can be rectified. And after he has done so, children will still die unjustly even in a perfect society. Even by his greatest effort man can only propose to diminish arithmetically the sufferings of the world. But the injustice and the suffering of the world will remain and, no matter how limited they are, they will not cease to be an outrage. Dimitri Karamozov's cry of "Why?" will continue to resound; . . . (and) will die only with the last man.[1]

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[1] Albert Camus, *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, p. 303.

CHAPTER 3

POLICY INITIATION IN THE STATES

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A major thesis of Everson's chapter is that one of the realities of political decision-making is the definition of the public agenda (that is, the prior decision of which issues get debated and decided in the political arena.) The establishment of priorities is critical to any political system. To put the matter starkly, if certain issues never get on the agenda, it is difficult to imagine that they will be dealt with. Everson examines some of the conditions which lead to a more open political agenda in the states. In its concern with initiation of public policy, the chapter spotlights political factors (elections, parties, interest groups) which currently receive little attention in the study of state politics in our schools.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INITIATION

This chapter does not report original research nor does it attempt to blaze a new conceptual trail for political science. Rather, it is intended to give the reader a glimpse of the potential applicability of a relatively new approach, the politics of agenda setting,[1] to the study of state politics.

Introduction

For example, consider Louis Hartz' *The Liberal Tradition in America.*[2] Hartz notes that unlike liberals in Europe during the depression, President Roosevelt did not have to spend much time defending his policies from attacks from the *left* – he did not have to explain why he was defending private property and salvaging capitalism. At the time when the "objective conditions" might have called for a truly radical challenge to American institutions, there was no substantial socialist movement in America. Why was such an alternative not a part of the national political dialogue – that is, why was socialism not given a place on the national political agenda? Was its absence purely accidental or were there systematic reasons for the failure of the U.S. to place that alternative on its agenda?

Such examples could be multiplied endlessly. This illustration makes the point: ". . . the definition of the alternatives is the supreme instrument of power . . ."[3] If politics is, in the famous phrase, "who gets what, when and how," it is also what gets on the agenda. And once an item receives agenda status, it may be as difficult to dislodge it as it once was to get it on the table.

Demands and Limitations

A democratic system requires that *all* relevant alternatives which are preferred by *anyone* in a system be included on the political agenda for choice. Such openness in initiation might be used to distinguish democratic from non-democratic systems. An additional requirement follows: that the members of a political system must be equally aware of the relevant alternatives.[4] Of course, the abstract requirements of democratic theory do not tell us much about how real political systems operate. For example, the President of the United States' influence over the debate in Congress on tax cuts (or increases) is incalculably more important than the average citizen's. It is clearly impossible for all individual concerns to be translated into issues for political decision. Simple questions of economy prevent such an ideal for all but the smallest and simplest political societies. Systems must find some means of "regulating" the development and expression of policy initiatives.

David Easton sees policy demands as central inputs into the political system and reminds us that demands are the stuff which makes politics, and hence the political system, necessary. However, the input of demands into a political system must be limited for any system has only a limited capacity to cope with demands. As Easton notes, "no system really leaves the matter of volume (or content) of demands to chance."[5] The reason is [illegible] an excess of demand, either in terms of volume or content, could place so much stress on the system that it could fail to function. Consider what might happen, for example, if each constituent in a representative's district decided to contact that representative about a particular political problem on a given day.

Democracy depends upon being able to choose between alternatives; however, the survival of political systems also depends upon limiting the volume and content of demands. Consequently, mechanisms must be developed which help to regulate, channel, articulate and aggregate demands. Two such institutions are the interest group and the political party. Therefore, any study of policy initiation must take into account the nature of parties and interest groups in the given system.

MUDDLING THROUGH

In attempting to lay out systematically the normal process of administrative decision-making, which he calls incrementalism or more colorfully the "science of muddling through," Charles Lindblom provides an understanding of why it is normally the case that we consider only a small range of policy alternatives in a given situation.[6] The thrust of his analysis is that real world decision-makers do not, and cannot, conform to a classical, comprehensive model in which goals are clarified and an exhaustive comparison is made of the various means to the agreed upon objective, and then the most efficient means is chosen. Rather, because of the limitations of time, information, and because of the cost of endless analysis, only a limited range of alternatives will be examined.

Normally, these options would be minor modifications of the status quo. Instead of efficiency being the criterion of acceptance of policy, the key is consensus among the relevant political actors that the change is mutually advantageous (or at least tolerable). A major advantage of incrementalism is the pragmatic test of checking the effects of small scale change (which presumably are reversible). Another major criterion of accepting a policy change is that the means for carrying out the change are at hand; indeed, the very presence of a means may suggest the resolution (this may be a version of the "law of the Instrument" – give a child a hammer and he will find that something needs pounding). Ends do not determine means, and ends are inextricably intertwined. "Muddling through" provides a means of multiple access in a pluralist system because each interest is alert to protect its own values. Anyone at all familiar with governmental policy-making at almost any level must feel that Lindblom has indeed captured the essence of the normal process of decision-making.

PLURALISM AND INITIATION

Lindblom's analysis of "muddling through" and particularly his discussion of the multiplicity of interests, is a variant of the pluralist interpretation of the policy process. The major tenets of the pluralist interpretation are: a wide (if unequal) distribution of power in society; the representation by organized groups of the significant interests in society; incremental policy-making as a result of the compromise of the interests of the affected groups and, in the sophisticated versions, the importance of public officials "anticipating the reactions" of groups and potential groups in making policy. Thus, in the pluralist scheme, access to gatekeepers for the purposes of initiating policy change is widespread, tied to organized groups, and balanced by the competition of many groups. The pluralists contend that the way to determine the distribution of power in a system is to examine the results of specific decisions and see who influenced the outcome(s).

Perhaps the most famous of the pluralist treatises, Robert Dahl's *Who Governs?*,[7] was a study of decision-making in three policy arenas in New Haven, Connecticut. Dahl concludes that decision-making in each of the arenas is influenced by relatively small groups of people but that, with the exception of elected officials, there is little overlap in influence from one arena to another. His phrase for a pluralist system of power realistically defined is "dispersed inequality." In addition, although political apathy is widespread, if an issue is sufficiently salient to a group, there is "slack" in the system; that is, resources may be turned to political activity and influence can be exerted.

Thus policy initiation is not particularly problematic for the pluralist: if an issue is sufficiently salient or intense, the system is likely to hear about it.

CRITIQUES OF PLURALISM

The critics of pluralism have centered part of their critique on the question of establishing the political agenda.[8] They have argued, for example, that studying specific decisions which are already on the public agenda misses the largely invisible "second face of Power." The second face of power also goes by the somewhat unfortunate label: the "non-decision-making process." The point is that some issues may never reach the state of decision, and that control of the agenda of politics is an exercise of power.

Mobilization of Bias

This debate is useful for our purposes because it highlights the fact that the stakes of politics are not just to be found in what are matters of overt conflict, they are also to be found in what Schattschneider called the "mobilization of bias." The mobilization of bias can be described as the pattern of values and rules of the game which help to detemine both the "volume" and the "content" of policy demands in any given system. To return to the Hartz example, the political debate of this country has from its inception excluded radical (and one might add, extreme reactionary) alternatives. Hartz believes that an "irrational" (in the sense of having been "given," not thought out) consensus on "Lockean liberalism" has dominated American political thought and that this consensus largely accounts for our blindness to certain policy alternatives.

That the pluralist approach does have certain fundamental weaknesses must be conceded. The existing "mobilization of bias" is not neutral in its effects. Opportunities to express demands are not randomly distributed. For example, membership in organizations and representation by interest groups is biased in favor of upper status groups. As Schattschneider remarked: "The flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with a strong upperclass accent."[9]

Abnormal Politics

Pluralism gives us a picture of a system of self-regulation via marginal adjustments over time but what if more dramatic and comprehensive change is needed? We do know that periodically American politics is not "normal." That is, there have been times of (relatively) major policy innovation and change. Despite the restrictiveness of outlook, the New Deal may be seen as one of these times. What stimulates policy-makers to consider innovations rather than marginal adjustments? What encourages long-range or comprehensive analysis rather than short-range incrementalism? What political conditions allow the modification of the "rule" of "mutual adjustment?" What, in short, clears the agenda for new issues and alternatives?

It should be stressed here that we are talking about nothing less than a crack in the existing mobilization of bias. Of course, for an observer such as Hartz, American political history is all of such a seam that the New Deal hardly seems a major deviation or breakpoint. From a less global perspective, we can see that popular attitudes toward the role and obligation of government in society do change dramatically; for example, governmental responsibility for the general state of the economy is no longer a matter of political debate. It is assumed.

Three conditions seemed necessary for such a transformation: (1) national crisis of unprecedented seriousness; (2) political leadership of extraordinary quality and (3) the subsequent mobilization of sufficient political power to accomplish change. In short, "abnormal" American politics, the shaking up of the political agenda, requires opportunity and leadership. Even then, the period of innovation may be remarkably short-lived, and, of course, characteristically pragmatic.

The Open Agenda

In the absence of crisis and extraordinary leadership, what factors seem to be related to a relatively open political agenda? We may expect initiation to be more democratic to the extent that political (party) competition exists, to the extent that political information is widely distributed, and to the degree that political participation is high and that genuine pluralism exists. These conclusions are not particularly novel for they are, of course, some of the traditional criteria for democracy itself.

APPLICATIONS TO STATE POLITICS

Background

But what does this have to do with the comparative study of state politics, or even the study of a single state political system? The first answer is that the significance of initiation, or the agenda, should now be evident no matter what level of politics we are looking at. In Schattschneider's words, "in politics, as in everything else, it makes a great difference whose game we play."[10] The agendas of states are every bit as important for what happens there as the national agenda is for federal government.

It was once assumed that a significant area of policy initiation, or inaction, was reserved for the states in the U.S. federal system. The advantages of such a system were formalized into a mini-theory in the progressive period: the states were to become the great experimenters of the political system, the "laboratories of democracy," where policy innovations could be tested without the risks of massive national programs. We do not hear much about this concept any more; our attention has turned to the nationalization and equalization of policies and services provided by states. In the language of social science, states are "dependent" variables (literally dependent for financial assistance in many cases) and the national government is the "independent" variable – the mover and shaker of the federal system. But despite pressures for uniformity on the states, significant differences still exist in terms of policy innovations. What factors may account for the differences?

In the previous section, we discussed some of the factors which can help to keep the political agenda at least somewhat open for policy change. Many of these factors have become part of the quantitative study of state politics and thus we can take note of some of the findings here.[11]

Political Parties and Agenda Setting

Let us begin with party competion. According to Schattschneider, strong two-party competition is a necessary condition for more open access to the political system. What do we know of party competition and its effects at the state level? The first point is the enormous range of party competition from one-party dominance to vigorous competition. Austin Ranney has developed an index of inter-party competition in the states for the years 1956-1970. This particular index is based on party competition for state offices. By this index, Ranney classifies the states as one-party, modified one-party and two-party. Approximately forty percent of the states fall in the one-party or modified one-party categories and about sixty percent are reasonably competitive. One-party systems are concentrated in the South; there are also pockets of modified one-party states (Republican) in the North.

What are the correlates of competitiveness in the states? One obvious correlate is the historical fact of the Civil War. The findings of the extremes are clear: all of the one-party Republican states were in the Union. The legacy of the Civil War can still be found in the contours of state politics in the U.S.

A second major correlate of competitiveness is urbanization. Strong two-party competition seems to develop and be sustained where there is sufficient diversity and conflict of interest such as that brought about by industrialization, urbanization and economic development. This point is important for the politics of initiation: the environmental circumstances of a political system may play a critical role in producing the conditions for open policy initiation.

What is the significance of party competition for initiation? One-party politics may sufficiently blur the important political issues and conflicts that they are kept off the political agenda almost completely. Indeed, the rules of the game may be manipulated by those in whose interests it is to keep such issues off the agenda.

What are the political consequences of party competition? One appears to be legislative party cohesion. In two-party competitive states, parties are more likely to be unified in opposition to each other rather than split into various factions. This relationship is not absolute as can be seen by the case of Illinois which is a two-party competitive state which has seen prolonged and bitter leadership fights in the Democratic Party in both houses of the General Assembly in recent years indicating the presence of sharply divided factions in the majority party. Competition seems to be a necessary, if not a sufficient, condition for cohesion. Strong competition between two relatively cohesive parties can be seen as the central method of democracy, and hence of the democratization of the initiation process. Why? Because in order to compete effectively, the parties must seek out and define the real alternatives for the voters. It is the possibility of effective and unified opposition, that is, competition, that provides the incentive for leadership (of the parties) to define meaningful alternatives.

Public Participation and Agenda Setting

A second factor theoretically related to initiation is the extent of public participation in politics. We do not have accurate state-by-state data on many aspects of state political participation. We do have, however, data on voting participation in the states which can be used for comparative purposes. The data tell the following story. First, as in party competition, there is a tremendous variability in voting participation in the states. A second point is that voting participation is fairly constant over time. That is, states which are high in participation at one time are likely to be high at another time and vice-versa. One of the most significant correlates of participation is party competition.

The Diffusion of Innovation and Agenda Setting

Up to this point we have considered some of the political factors which may influence the initiation process in the states. Is there any more direct evidence on these issues? Fortunately, there has been an empirical study of the diffusion of policy innovations. The research questions were: which states tend to be experimental in adopting policy innovations and what are the characteristics of such states? The first part of the question comes close to asking which states are most open in terms of initiating policy change, for it seems reasonable to assume that states which adopt innovations sooner also consider them sooner. Walker found that the degree of party competition was related to innovation (the more competitive, the more innovative) and more significantly, that "those states that grant their urban areas full representation in the legislature adopt new ideas more rapidly, on the average, than states that discriminate against their cities."[12] Again, we find evidence that the degree of openness of a system to policy change is related to political factors concerning competitiveness and, in this particular instance, representation of diverse interests.

Agenda Setting: A Summary

It may be that the level of industrialization and urbanization (the level of socio-economic development in general) has a good deal to do with whether states are competitive, participatory and innovative. There is a line of argument that political variables are not as critical as the socio-economic ones. But the fact that party competition, participation and innovation seem to cluster with certain socio-economic variables does not seem to be to deny the importance of the political factors if one does not view the role of political institutions as essentially "spurious" but rather as an integral part of the development of policy.

CONCLUSION

What does this all mean? Given the argument that state politics should be studied and understood by the youth of this nation, it is important to recognize that what gets on the agenda and how it gets there is an important matter for consideration and clear understanding. The first part of this chapter made that argument.

The second part of this chapter has attempted to suggest, with research examples, some of the factors relating to initiation of policy in states which appear to be worth looking at: political party competitiveness and political participation. These are the "stuff" of real politics and they should be introduced into the study of state policy-making. There is substantial evidence (see Chapter 1 by John Patrick, "Teaching About State Government and Politics in the U.S.") that the study of actual political behavior and conflict is absent from the study of state politics in the schools.

A more mature and realistic appraisal of state politics will be gained by an active consideration of the "politics of agenda setting" in the states.

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 362.

CHAPTER 4

ENACTING PUBLIC POLICY IN STATE GOVERNMENT

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EDITORS' NOTE:

This chapter examines the enactment of public policy. The authors are Ronald D. Hedlund of the Department of Political Science and Urban Research Center at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Keith E. Hamm of the Department of Political Science, Texas A & M University. Professor Hedlund is the co-author of Representatives and Represented *(1975) and author of numerous articles on state politics.*

Hedlund and Hamm seek to identify the major influences on legislative enactments in the states. Their general model links factors in the environment of legislatures to characteristics of legislatures in an effort to account for public policy enactments. The significance of the chapter is that it analyzes the impact of the rules of the game on legislative performance. The study of enactment, while not ignoring the important influence of parties, interest groups, and other political actors, must also consider the organizational context of decision-making, for, as Representative Kane pointed out, rules, formal and informal, have consequences. This is a point often neglected in the study of formal structure.

INTRODUCTION

Every institution within a society is mandated to pursue certain goals in order to receive the support prerequisite for existence. Failure to perform in a manner consistent with the quest for those goals can result in withdrawal of societal support from that institution with resultant waning of the institution. In our society, state governments were created in order to pursue certain vital societal goals. In its most abstract form, state government was charged with policy-making regarding intrastate issues.

JUDICIAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGISLATIVE POLICY-MAKING

Three differing means are generally used by state government to make public policy on behalf of state residents: judicial decisions

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made by courts; administrative rules and regulations articulated by agencies, commissions and departments; and, statutory enactments by legislative bodies.

Judicial Decisions as Public Policy

Judicial action has long been recognized as one means for making public policy. Well known federal cases such as Marbury *v.* Madison, National Labor Relations Board *v.* Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, United States *v.* Butler, Brown *v.* Board of Education, Baker *v.* Carr, and Patachristou *v.* Jacksonville are examples of how the federal courts have made public policy. Similarly, state courts have made policy through a number of important, but less well known decision, e.g., Knott *v.* Rawlings (Iowa, 1959), Porter *v.* Oberline (Ohio, 1964), State *v.* Craig (Ohio, 1969), and Serrano *v.* Priest (California, 1971). Past practice indicates that certain types of issues like civil rights, the environment, reapportionment, and the rights of accused persons have fared better in the courts than elsewhere.

Administration Rules as Public Policy

A problem of increasing concern to state officials and political observers relates to the continued integrity of the enactment process. More than ever before state legislatures are alarmed by the rule making actions being taken by administrative agencies and independent commissions. Administrative rules and regulations originally were envisioned to be the specific interpretations of statutory provisions made by administrators in order to implement legislative decisions. Thus, these rules and regulations were considered to be relatively less important than the originally constituted statute; however, as more and more rules and regulations were implemented by greater numbers of agencies, commissions and departments, and as more and more topics became subjects for such action, administrative rules and regulations assumed a much more prominent position in policy-making.

For example, regulation of most professions, including teachers, rules regarding the conduct of many business firms, and regulations regarding one's health and welfare are formulated and promulgated largely by such agencies, commissions, and departments. In some states, for instance New York and Florida, legislative bills *defeated* by elected representatives have been issued, almost verbatim, as administrative rules.[1]

Such administrative activity certainly raises issues of propriety and judgment. As a result, since 1970, twenty-four states have taken some action to increase attention to the "oversight" of agency activity. Mechanisms have been established for reviewing and overturning various bureaucratic regulations, for auditing agency performance, and for phasing out entire governmental agencies. (See Chapter 6.) Initial results from those states which have attempted such thorough reviews suggest that agency guidelines are often ill-conceived and poorly drafted. (For example, in a recent session of the Florida legislature, the Joint Administrative Procedures Committee discovered that "79% of the rules issued by the bureaucracy had technical errors of one type or another, and that 6% exceeded statutory authority.")[2]

State Statutes as Public Policy

When we refer to policy-making on the state and national levels, however, we generally think of the legislative/executive enactment process. This avenue of decision-making refers to that constitutionally established process whereby officially elected representatives of the people – the state legislature and the governor – convert policy proposals into authoritative, legal and binding decisions obligating governmental action. The enactment process involves the creation of a state's laws or statutes. As such, the enactment process generally is considered the epitome of representative democracy since the citizen's *official* and *elected* representatives determine public policy.

In the American system of government, enactment refers to several different and discrete elements: the generation and articulation of assorted proposals intended to solve various problems (agenda setting in the terms of Professor Everson in Chapter 3); the review of these proposals to determine their practicality, effectiveness, and cost; the decisions made regarding which solution to implement; and, the authorization of official action, together with the appropriation of public moneys to support that action. Much, although not all, of the enactment process centers around activity in the state legislature. Every state constitution gives to the legislature the power to make laws, and to the governor the right to approve or veto those actions.

A Note on the Track Record of Legislative Enactment

Far too often, critics of state government emphasize the overwhelming role played by the federal government in enacting "innovative" legislation and being solely responsive to emerging demands in solving pressing problems of an advanced industrialized society. State legislatures are thought to be unimaginative, antiquated, inefficient, and iniquitous. However, a new perspective is being articulated by those observing the everyday process of enactment.

In commenting on policy-making by state government, nationally known columnist for the *Washington Post*, David Broder, noted that:

> The contrast between the stumbling of the national government, both the legislative and executive, and the improving performance of state and local governments is a largely unreported story. Individual states have moved out ahead of the national government, justifying again their claim to being "laboratories of democracy.

This opinion, shared by many political observers, extends to the policies being enacted as well as to the enactment process itself.

A perusal of legislative enactments in the fifty states during 1975 offers substantial confirmation for Broder's assessment. Significant public policy was enacted by various states on some of the most important domestic problems facing the United States during the mid-1970's. For example, 37 state legislatures enacted legislation dealing with energy related problems. In Iowa, the state legislature authorized and appropriated 3 million dollars for a three year project in which the state would operate an experimental coal mine. In responding to a perceived problem of converting surface coal into a clean, economical fuel source, without adversely affecting the ground above the coal, Governor Ray stated: "This is another instance where instead of sitting and waiting for federal action in the energy fields, Iowa is initiating a problem-solving program on its own."[3] Additional innovative enactments for energy policy included authorizing the building of a plant to convert garbage to electricity (New Jersey) and having certain state owned buildings heated and cooled by a solar energy system (Iowa). Also, in keeping with this assessment, a number of states have initiated enactments in the area of consumer protection. For example, "fifteen states repealed their fair trade laws during 1975, before the federal authority for such laws was repealed."[4] On environmental problems, Florida took the initiative to enact a far reaching and comprehensive land use planning act. This act not only requires that all local governments adopt and submit to the state a comprehensive development plan, but also calls for all public and private development *regulations* to be in conformity with this plan. Finally, in the area of human services, Illinois enacted an anti-redlining law which forces lending institutions to disclose where they have distributed funds for housing rehabilitation or purchase. These examples illustrate only a few of the most significant policy enactments of state governments.

How to Describe the Legislative Process

This chapter describes a general analytical model of the enactment process which occurs within the state legislature. Two views are presented. One is cross-sectional or static and the other is time oriented or dynamic. It will be seen that this model is generalizable and is intended to aid one in describing the activities and characteristics of any state legislature. As the model is developed below, attention is directed toward those factors which have a general impact on the enactment process rather than focusing on any single issue which might come before any particular state legislature.

The model of legislative processing used here is based on systems analysis as applied in political science by David Easton,[5] on the John G. Grumm legislative change model,[6] and on the Wold-Jureen economic supply-price-demand model.[7] Taken together, these concepts and models have been adapted and integrated so that a new model is formulated which identifies those elements of a state legislative enactment process and indicates the relationships among these elements in terms of public policy output. In addition, this model can be used to generate an explicit dynamic conception of the enactment process.

Our model of the process used for legislative enactment will list the component parts of the system and their relationships and will provide the user with a means for better understanding and explaining its complexities. The enactment model to be discussed here is a model of a *process* and not a general model of political or legislative behavior. Its intent is to describe the process by which state legislatures take citizens needs and demands and convert them into public policy enactments. The model organizes components. The user must elaborate on the model so that it applies to a specific state and must devise pedagogical and curricular strategies that will best convey to students an understanding of the enactment process used by state government.

Some caution should be observed regarding models in general and this model in particular. A model *directs* attention to the process components and indicates how the components are related in an *abstract* manner. It remains for the user of the model to go out and *test* the model in real life situations. Thus, while the model to be discussed here is intended to give the reader insights into the legislative enactment process as it operates on the state level, the *user* must *apply* this model to various enactment processes by collecting and analyzing relevant information in differing state legislatures. After this has been accomplished, the user can assess exactly how much each system component affects policy decision-making in specific state legislatures.

In summary, it is important to point out that this model is intended for two uses. First, it can be used in classroom settings to orient students to various components of the enactment process, and their interrelationships, not only with each other but also with policy-making by state government. Secondly, it can also be used as a guide in the development of curriculum materials by aiding the developer in identifying salient processes and concepts of the legislature.

MODELING THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Introduction

The model to be discussed here assumes that a legislative body resembles all other social institutions in that it is a collectivity of individuals, existing in an environment, which seeks to achieve some set of goals. This goal-seeking takes place as the legislature negotiates exchanges of products, resources, and values with its environment.

Legislative goals include self-preservation as well as making public policy decisions, appropriating public resources for pursuing public goals, overseeing the operations of other governmental units, implementing citizen input into the public decision-making processes, and assisting citizens in their relations with government. Each of these goals has a clear public dimension, involves some exchange with its environment, and is related to the authoritative allocation of those things a society values.

As a goal-seeking social institution, the legislature can be analyzed using an input-process-output model. *From* the environment, the legislature obtains the personnel, money, supportive predispositions, and acquiesence to its decisions necessary for its existence. *For* the environment, the legislature establishes a forum for debate and consideration of items on the agenda, provides a means for educating persons regarding societal problems and their resolution, and creates a device for citizen input into governmental decisions. And finally, *to* the environment, the legislature gives authoritative decisions in the form of public policy.

The concern of this chapter, however, is limited to *how* the legislature performs in pursuing its policy-making goal as it processes agenda items for statutory enactment and not with its general goals per se.

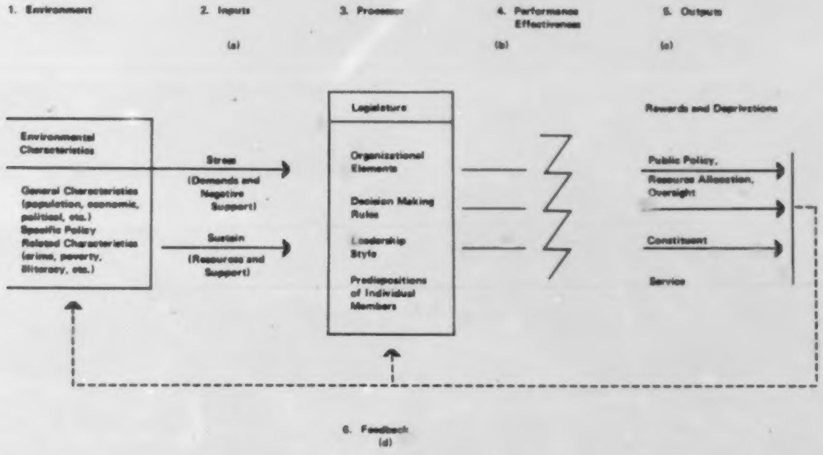
The Legislative Process Model: A Static View

The model of legislative processing, FIGURE 1, includes six major components – 1) environment, 2) inputs, 3) processor, 4) processing or performance effectiveness, 5) outputs, and 6) feedback. Each of these is, in turn, composed of several subcomponents which are related to each other.

Here, we will briefly examine all six components. The environment includes all those individuals, groups, and factors which surround the legislature, provide the required input for legislative agenda setting and action, and consume the output of legislative action (see the dotted feedback line). This input-output exchange is

FIGURE 1

A LEGISLATIVE PROCESSING MODEL IN A CROSS SECTIONAL PERSPECTIVE


1. Environment
2. Inputs
(a)
3. Processor
4. Performance Effectiveness
(b)
5. Outputs
(c)
Environmental Characteristics
General Characteristics (population, economic, political, etc.)
Specific Policy Related Characteristics (crime, poverty, illiteracy, etc.)
Stress
(Demands and Negative Support)
Sustain
(Resources and Support)
Legislature
Organizational Elements
Decision Making Rules
Leadership Style
Predispositions of Individual Members
Rewards and Deprivations
Public Policy,
Resource Allocation,
Oversight
Constituent
Service
6. Feedback
(d)

part of the symbiotic relationship characterizing the legislature and its environment. From the environment the legislature receives input for legislative action. This input includes the resources required for the legislature to be able to act and takes the familiar dual form of both stressful demands for legislative action and sustaining resources and support.

A concrete example will illustrate this process. In late 1975 and early 1976, an unprecedented increase in medical malpractice insurance rates produced demands for governmental action. Medical doctors initiated work slowdowns and strikes in order to dramatize their "plight." Patients and citizens, stunned by this turn of events, sought assistance from government. Since state governments are responsible for most insurance regulation and since state government also licenses and "oversees" medical practice, they became the focus of demands. In the terminology of the model, some forces in the environment had created a disturbance in the status quo. Failure to resolve the dispute through private negotiation of the concerned parties led to the demand that state government act. In order to prompt legislative action, several proposals to resolve the conflict were articulated by the medical professions, by the insurance companies, by private citizens, by experts, and by various state officials. It remained for the state legislatures in those affected states to enact public policy that would meet the problem of insurance rates and restore medical service. A state's public policy on medical malpractice insurance thus enacted, becomes the output to be "consumed" by groups and individuals in the environment.

Once a policy decision has been made, articulated, and implemented, many citizens might conclude that the state legislature was *able* to do *something* to meet the crisis. As a result these citizens would probably develop a more positive feeling toward the legislature. They may become somewhat more supportive, in both tangible and intangible ways, of the enactment process and of the legislature as a means for resolving a public problem, although clearly this result is not inevitable. The demands for legislative action, the resultant policy enactment, and the consequent support for the legislative institution are examples of how the environment relates to the enactment process via inputs, outputs, and feedback.

The legislature is the institution which takes these inputs, acts upon them, and converts them into outputs. Major factors in this conversion process include: the organizational structure of the legislature, certain decision-making rules and processes, and varying leadership styles used to coordinate and control activity within the legislature. Taken together these three aspects of the legislature, along with the predispositions of the individuals sitting as legislators, determine how well or effectively the legislature performs in seeking its goals. If the state legislatures which were forced to take action on the medical malpractice insurance were *organized* in such a way as to militate against quick decision-making, or if the *decision-making rules* and procedures required unanimous consent for policy-making, the state legislatures could become impotent – making any type of policy resolution regarding malpractice insurance impossible. If a *leadership style* concentrated on maintaining friendly interpersonal relations among the state legislators and played down the importance of making unpopular but necessary policy decisions the result could be a state legislature which languishes whenever difficult policy choices are confronted. If the *membership* of the legislature were composed largely of medically trained personnel, one might expect that legislature to be very sympathetic toward resolving the problem in a certain way. Thus, the nature of the state legislature itself and the persons associated with it have a great impact on which policies are enacted and how quickly and effectively the legislature can respond.

The term "performance effectiveness" in FIGURE 1 refers to the degree to which the internal characteristics of the legislature enable it to respond in an effective manner to the demands placed on the legislature by its environment.

The results of legislative activity are the outputs. These outputs are integrally related to the goals being sought by the legislature. (Outputs unrelated to the goals established for or by the legislature are likely to produce stress because of the consumption of resources for non-agreed upon purposes.) Legislative outputs frequently take the form of statutes, although one can argue that the failure to pass a law is also a policy decision, a decision not to change current policy, or a decision not to decide. Statutory provisions result in some allocation or reallocation of resources among competing demands, provide some type of regulation among differing sectors of society, or establish some set of procedures for accomplishing some purpose. In each case, the citizens will somehow be affected by these decisions.

Finally, this model in FIGURE 1 includes one non-static element: feedback. Feedback is the process by which alteration of the environment, especially demands, supports, and resources, and the processor itself takes place in response to prior decisions or actions. As a result of a legislative decision favoring doctors in providing state supported medical malpractice insurance, many citizens may object to such preferential treatment for one segment and may therefore initiate court action to overturn legislative enactments. Feedback, then, is a mechanism whereby the environment can respond to outputs and seek to initiate further change either in policy, in legislator attitudes, or in the legislative institution itself.

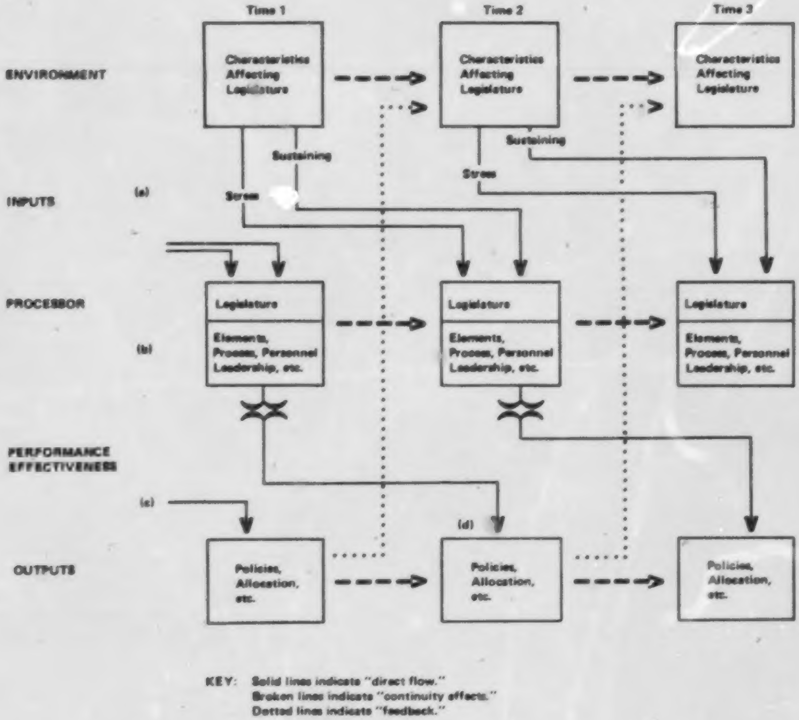
The Legislative Process Model: A Dynamic View

A major drawback of legislative models presented elsewhere has been their essentially static nature, but the outline in FIGURE 2 provides for the effects of change. This relationship can best be illustrated when the model in FIGURE 1 is place[illegible]to an explicit dynamic framework. This second diagram, FIGURE 2, takes into account the inevitable factor of change over time in the components of the model.

The flow of enactment action displayed in FIGURE 1 as a movement from left to right across the page is depicted in FIGURE 2 as a downward and diagonal movement from time 1 to time 2 to time 3. This modification to the model is introduced to indicate that internal changes in the legislative process probably affects the legislature's capacity to perform. Further, changes in the environment are also probably noticeable in the nature of legislative characteristics and in the legislature's output. For example, environmental demands for legislative action may produce the need for additional effectiveness in the legislature's output production as well as an alteration in the nature of the output expected. As the legislature encounters increasing policy expectations, negative feedback from previous performance, or new demand patterns, it may seek some type of accommodation by altering its organizational

FIGURE 2

A LEGISLATIVE PROCESSING MODEL IN A DYNAMIC, ACROSS-TIME FRAMEWORK


Time 1
Time 2
Time 3
ENVIRONMENT
Characteristics Affecting Legislature
Characteristics Affecting Legislature
Characteristics Affecting Legislature
Sustaining
Sustaining
Stress
Stress
INPUTS
(a)
PROCESSOR
Legislature
Elements, Process, Personnel Leadership, etc.
Legislature
Elements, Process, Personnel Leadership, etc.
Legislature
Elements, Process, Personnel Leadership, etc.
(b)
PERFORMANCE EFFECTIVENESS
(c)
(d)
OUTPUTS
Policies, Allocation, etc.
Policies, Allocation, etc.
Policies, Allocation, etc.

KEY: Solid lines indicate "direct flow."
Broken lines indicate "continuity effects."
Dotted lines indicate "feedback."

structure, decision-making process, leadership or personnel so as to reduce possible stress and disequilibrium with its environment. Failure to seek some type of accommodation creates the potential for institutional disaster. In practical terms, this model suggests that so long as the persons, structures, and processes in a legislature adjust to new feedback, demand patterns, and support giving, the legislature will be capable of maintaining a state in which it, as an institution, can continue its goal seeking activities. However, when a legislature is no longer capable or willing to adjust so as to deal with the disturbances represented in feedback or inputs, a state of crisis will result. Such a state will remain until the legislature adapts to its environment.

In this model no specification is made, however, regarding how or to what degree the institution adapts. The adjustments made by an institution will depend upon the amount of stress coming from the environment and the predispositions of members regarding the best coping strategy. Increasing demands and changing patterns of expectations may create a situation in which legislators themselves become frustrated with their performance and they may therefore seek various changes. Higher public expectations may develop concerning state legislative chambers. The type of legislation desired by the public and by legislators may become increasingly difficult to secure. Significant numbers of persons may become disappointed in the performance of state legislatures. One result may be a climate conducive for institutional innovations, in terms of changing a legislature's organization, recruiting new persons to seek legislative positions, altering the process by which each legislative chamber makes its decisions, or experimenting with new leadership styles.

The changes outlined here directly or indirectly affect the enactment process of state legislatures. Using the legislative processing model one may observe those factors within the legislature which affect the enactment process, as well as the policy output. Thereafter, one can note subsequent levels of legislative performance as manifested in the nature of public policy outputs.

THE LEGISLATIVE ENVIRONMENT AND INPUTS

The starting point for any evaluation of the policy enactment process is an examination of those environmental factors which influence the process initially. In the model the environment generates two general kinds of inputs, demands and supports. Stresses and strains, problems, and inequities exist in the environment, all demanding relief, accommodation, solution, and justice. Sometimes, the genesis of such problems and inequities is a conscious decision, on the part of an individual or group, made to spur a policy response from state government. For instance, the individual who consciously defies some ordinance or law or engages in some other form of civil disobedience to stimulate change in the present policy best exemplifies this conscious approach. More often, however, the natural flow of events generates conflicts and antagonisms, thereby creating the need for statutory enactment. Referring again to the example of medical malpractice insurance, only conspiratorial theorists have suggested seriously that the doctors and/or the insurance companies planned a crisis in order to initiate government action. Consensus opinion suggests instead that increasing malpractice judgments against doctors and their insurance companies created a situation in which insurance premiums had to be increased. As more and more substantial judgments were awarded to those who claimed injury, premiums continued to spiral with the increased costs ultimately being passed on to patients. Finally the "medical marketplace" could no longer tolerate passing on these insurance costs and the insurance carriers refused to insure certain medical specialities. The result was a cessation of medical services by some doctors and a serious curtailment by others. This situation created a need for public policy action. Physicians as well as patients and public officials translated these needs into very salient and visible demands. Such needs and demands are one form of input into the enactment process.

Needs and demands must be treated separately. Needs refer to the inability of existing resources to meet required expenditures or to produce desired outcomes. Insufficient family income produces a need for some type of aid if the members of that family are to continue to survive. However, one person's needs may be another's luxuries when we move beyond the basic requirements for survival. Thus, government is faced with multiple needs and must somehow determine which needs must be satisfied. One resolution is for government to concentrate on those needs which become so salient to citizens that they act to articulate these needs to public officials. Such citizen action raises needs to the level of demands. Customarily, the legislature seeks to enact policy *only after* the needs are translated into demands. Needs, the transformation of needs to demands, and their subsequent arrival on the agenda of the state legislature were treated in Chapter 3.

In addition there are inputs which provide support for the legislature by offering the necessary sustaining resources and attitudes. As a consequence of experiences in family, school, and peer groups, children learn to support the government and political system. Through displays of deference to the political system, such as pledging allegiance to the flag, game playing that stresses the role of rules and law, and obedience to authority figures, children develop an attitude of support and loyalty toward the system and its components.[8] As a result, citizens develop a tie of allegiance to the system and are prepared to defer many of their individual desires to those of the system. (Further reinforcing this attitude is the ability of the system to punish those who fail to comply.) The net result is that as they become adults, the vast majority of individuals are prepared to provide the inputs – personnel, resources, and supportive attitudes – necessary for some institution like the state legislature to operate. A second source of supportive predispositions arises out of previous decisions made by the political system. As a result of some governmental action or program – social security, NDEA loans, price supports, unionization of public employees, ADC payments – most citizens have received some type of benefit.

Receipt of such benefits may foster a favorable view of the institution or process responsible and may lead one to greater levels of support. It should be noted, however, that the model also allows for negative responses to policy failures. Taken together, these demands and support inputs become the "raw material" for legislative enactment.

THE LEGISLATURE AS A PROCESSOR

Our model postulates that three major internal characteristics of the legislature will be largely responsible for the manner in which the state legislature enacts public policy. While a host of other factors might also have some effect, this discussion concentrates on the legislature's organizational elements, its rules and procedures for decision-making, and the leadership style used by legislative leaders. In addition, it must be recalled that the attitudes, and other predispositions of the legislators themselves play a role. The first two characteristics are selected for treatment because of the recent intense interest by citizens and reform-minded organizations in altering the organizational elements and the rules and procedures used by state legislatures in the enactment process. Such activity has been based on the premise that altering these aspects of a state legislature will affect legislative operations and policy decisions. In addition, there is sufficient evidence from non-legislative organizations indicating that the manner in which the group is arranged and the rules and procedures used to guide the decision-making process affect the group's performance and output. The third characteristic is included because of the widespread belief in political science and management science that the organization's leadership is critical in determining performance levels and outcomes for the organization, in directing the organization, and in managing organization changes. The characteristics of the actors, aside from the characteristics of the legislature, are examined because of the long standing belief among legislative observers and the findings from academic research that the types of persons serving in the legislature also affect performance and output.

Organizational Elements

The organizational elements are the various internal features of the legislature which affect decision making because they "orient and structure" the overall operations of the legislature. Two examples of organizational elements are increased flexibility of legislative sessions and greater informational resources for members of the legislature.

Flexibility of legislative sessions is an important goal of the legislative reform movement because it frees state legislatures from restrictions on the length and frequency of sessions. Without these restrictions, it is assumed, the legislature would have more time to deliberate, inform itself, and carefully consider the legislation before it; and, it is further assumed that higher quality legislation would result. Flexible legislative sessions (i.e., annual sessions, unlimited session length, the legislature's ability to call itself back into session, bill carry-over provisions, and "trailer session" provisions) should improve a legislature's performance and may even alter the public policy enacted.

Informational resources have grown as a by-product of state legislatures being expected to treat an increasing range and complexity of policy matters. The result has been to provide more staff services of both a professional and personal nature. Many assume that by having its own staff a legislature is not as dependent upon administrative agencies and lobbyists for information and therefore can act in a more independent manner. The reform argument for additional staff also points out that having its own set of experts should facilitate legislative action and should provide greater continuity for decisions over time.

Informational and support services are also provided by a series of agencies which supply technical information and research on issues and legislation coming before it, help in the drafting of bills, manage the housekeeping functions of the legislatures, and audit and scrutinize the state executive branch. These services are provided by legislative councils, legislative reference agencies, legislative research bureaus, fiscal and audit agencies, committees on legislative management. law revision commissions, bill-drafting agencies and state libraries. The quality and extent of the services provided vary considerably from state to state and from time to time within a given state. Variations in these services probably result in significant differences in the technical quality of legislation emanating from state legislatures and in the ability of legislatures to respond efficiently and effectively to needs, problems, and demands placed on the system.

Decision-Making Rules

The second internal component of the legislature relates to the specific process used to make decisions. As contrasted with organizational elements, the decision-making process is of more immediate concern for policy deliberations, is subject to greater alteration by legislators, and is more specific and direct in its impact on legislators and policy than are the organizational variables noted above.

Rules and procedures are as essential for the existence and maintenance of political decision-making bodies as they are for any social organization. They regulate behavior by establishing a regular order of business, assuring a systematic manner for processing demands, expediting the settlement of disputes through routinized procedures, and providing continuity for the structure.

For some, rules and procedures have been viewed as neutral features of the lawmaking process. Others, however, have seen the rules as a determinant of political settlements, and as such, more than a means of facilitating and expediting the consideration of public business.

Legislative case studies have demonstrated numerous instances where the methods used to reach decisions have often shaped the decisions themselves. Two congressional observers, John F. Bibby and Roger Davidson, noted this inter-relationship in their study of depressed areas legislation:

> ..."The rules" have influence over legislative outcomes. They are resources, and mastery of them is a form of power in Congress. . .the rules are nevertheless not independent of the power struggle that lies behind them. There is very little that the houses cannot do under the rules, so long as the action is backed up by the votes and inclination. Yet votes and inclination are not easily obtained, and the rules persistently challenge the proponents of legislation to demonstrate that they have both resources at their command.[9]

Thus, procedure and policy are often interlaced.

Committee structure is another significant aspect of the legislature's internal decision-making process. Of particular concern here is the degree of subject matter specialization and differentiation as well as the number of committees and committee autonomy. The strength and independence of committees has an effect on the performance of the legislature as a whole and ultimately may effect the nature of the policy outputs of the system because committees function, to a large extent, for proposal review and formulation.

Leadership Style

The third internal aspect of the legislature included in the model is that of leadership style. Leadership has been a topic of interest to political scientists for many years, but most studies have been either portraits of individual leaders or descriptions of organizational hierarchies. Only recently have the concepts and approaches from other disciplines – most notably management science and organizational theory – been applied to a legislative setting. Leadership style refers to the various approaches leaders can take in relating to other legislators. Style is composed of the leader's use of consultation and pressure to obtain member cooperation, the leader's type of interaction with followers, the leader's role in initiating legislative action, the leader's motivation of followers, and differences between member expectations and perceptions of leader behavior.

As it relates to the enactment process, leadership style refers to the means used by a legislative leader to obtain the support and cooperation of the rank and file in facilitating decision-making. One difficulty in measuring leadership style relates to the nature and position of a legislative body in our social system. (This observation, of course, must be modified with respect to the *negative* influence some legislators may wield with respect to blocking legislation, i.e., a strong committee chairman.) Unlike hierarchical groupings, legislators have substantially equal status with all their colleagues, including leaders. A legislative leader cannot *order* any other legislator to do something. Further, he has comparatively little to do with a legislator attaining and keeping his legislative position. However, recent work in management science and organizational theory has suggested several approaches for studying leadership, each of which explains leadership in terms of how the leaders go about obtaining cooperation, support, and improving group performance, which are applicable in a legislative setting.

Predispositions of Legislative Personnel

Finally, it should be remembered that a basic component in the legislative enactment process is the individual political actor. Persons formulate and articulate various policy proposals, legislators and staff evaluate and refine proposals in the form of legislation, legislators decide which legislation will be enacted into statutory form for implementation, and legislators and staff oversee the implementation process. Without all these individuals, there would be no enactment process. Persons, not inanimate and mechanical elements or processes, comprise and control the enactment process. Individuals reside in the environment and are the sole reason for having an enactment process. Thus, in order to understand and explain legislative enactment, one must include as a central consideration the individuals involved.

Approximately two decades ago, political scientists began, in earnest, to study the role of the individual in the political process. This behavioral approach argues that one cannot understand politics without understanding the individuals involved — their values, goals, predispositions, backgrounds, and behavior. In fact, a number of recent legislative studies formulate an explanation of certain aspects of the legislative process largely in terms of individuals and their behavior. Thus, the individual has become a central focus in political science.

Among the important factors in the predispositions of legislative personnel, we will briefly consider here: (1) personal and political attributes; (2) personal background experiences; (3) attitudes, values and beliefs; (4) professionalism and ambition; and (5) role orientations.

Personal and political attributes include a number of important individual characteristics which differentiate people from one another. These traits determine in part the outlooks an individual will develop and perhaps some of his behavior. For legislators the personal attributes thought to be most important include the legislator's age, sex, race, educational level, and social-economic characteristics. Various political attributes like political party identification, factional affiliations, and friendship patterns are also believed to affect a person's outlooks and behavior.

Personal background experiences have been shown to have some impact on individual behavior. Donald R. Matthews, in one of the early statements of this position, offered supporting rationale:

> The conviction that the political decision-maker's behavior and decisions are influenced by his personal life experiences not only has a long and honorable history but also is substantiated by modern psychological and sociological research. We are told that human beings are selective in what they perceive, or experience through their senses, and that identical events or facts have different meanings for different people...
>
> Human beings perceive what goes on about them within a *frame of reference* determined by their total previous experiences. The world that we experience is not just "given," it is influenced by what our parents taught us as children, by our friendships and group memberships, our occupations, our formal education, and so on. We thus obtain a directional guide that focuses our attention on those things which fit into established patterns of thought and filters out experiences which do not.[10]

Among the background factors studied have been the process by which legislators acquire political orientations, the process by which individuals are recruited to run for office, and legislators' prior political and legislative experiences.

Attitudes, values, and beliefs undoubtedly are related to a person's attributes and experiences. Nevertheless, by treating them as a separate category of factors affecting legislator behavior, we call attention to their importance. A wide range of personal and political attitudes, values, and beliefs have been studied, e.g., liberal-conservative orientation, authoritarianism, alienation, and faith-in-people.

Professionalism and ambition have been motivating goals for many legislators. Traditionally, many state legislatures have been organizations composed of part-time citizen legislators who serve their constituents while also maintaining some other occupation.

Increasingly full-time service is becoming the norm, whereby legislators are oriented to developing a professional outlook regarding legislative service and responsibilities.

Regarding ambition, legislative service has long been regarded as a "stepping stone" position to another office. A legislator's expectations regarding how legislative service is likely to affect his future undoubtedly affects his outlook, behavior, and decision preferences.

Role orientations have been suggested as one important personal variable likely to affect individual behavior and the enactment process. Legislative roles and the norms from which they grow have been studied to determine their impact.

> One set of behavioral conditions that we regard as most important involves the legislative norms and the ways in which those norms are focused around specific locations in the structure of the legislative system, thus constituting expectations about the behavior of individuals there. We have defined role...as consisting of a pattern of reciprocal expectations of proper conduct among those who occupy positions in the structure of the legislative system. An exhaustive description of the role structure of a legislative system would involve a complete map of the interactions among participants and a definitive analysis of the sum total of behavioral expectations that participants share about each system position.[11]

Among the role orientations studied have been:

Constituency role (district/state/district-state),
Interest group role (facilitators/resisters/neutrals),
Political party role (party man/maverick/party indifferent),
Bureaucratic role (executive/agency),
Representational role (trustee/delegate/politico),
Purposive role (ritualist/tribune/investor/broker/opportunist), and
Structural role (expert/leader/chairman/friend).[12]

Currently, empirical research has provided little direct support for using role orientation to explain much regarding individual legislator behavior or the enactment process in general.

Other Factors

In addition to organizational elements, decision-making processes, leadership style, and legislative personnel two other factors affecting legislative enactments need to be discussed. These factors exercise influence on the legislature but because they are external, they also operate in non-legislative settings.

Political party affiliation is perhaps the most pervasive factor found to affect roll-call voting in a state legislature. Parties play a critical role in organizing a legislature, in initiating proposals for legislation, and in structuring the issues on which decisions will be made. They also play a role in recruiting and electing legislators. Thus, they cannot be ignored; however, past analysis of parties also indicates that they seldom formulate specific programs, they cannot always implement a program even with a large majority of members, and the programs formulated by a successful party tend to have few controversial proposals.

The governor has a co-equal position with that of the state legislature in our system of "separate institutions sharing powers." The governor signs or vetos bills passed by the legislature. In many states, the chief executive also proposes the state's budget and is responsible for suggesting most new state programs. Informally, it is also possible for extensive consultation and negotiation to take place on all bills between the governor and the legislature. Consequently, the study of legislative enactment cannot ignore the crucial role of the governor.

LEGISLATIVE PERFORMANCE

Between the legislature and the policy outputs we may consider the effectiveness the legislature experiences in its public policy-making role. Performance effectiveness is one kind of indicator of the legislature's overall performance. A measure of overall performance will probably reflect differences in the legislative environment as well as in the legislative process with its variations in the decision-making structure, decision-making process, leadership style, and personnel as described above. Performance is a kind of intervening state, flowing from the legislature's structural components yet preceeding policy output. Prior studies of legislative operations have frequently avoided specifying any measures of legislative performance, given its definitional difficulties. One promising trend can be found in recent organizational studies in social psychology and management science which have tended to equate measures of performance with "effectiveness." Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn define effectiveness

> ...as the extent to which all forms of energic return to the organization are maximized. This is determined by a combination of the efficiency of the organization as a system and its success in obtaining, on advantageous terms, the inputs it requires.[13]

Congruent with this definition is James L. Price's equation of effectiveness with a system's achievement of its goals. Price views effectiveness as a multidimensional concept consisting of four parts – productivity, expeditiousness, efficiency, and adaptiveness.[14]

PUBLIC POLICY OUTPUT

Regardless of other important functions it may perform, in the final analysis, a legislature must be judged on the results of its enactment process – the decisions, rules, programs and other policies decided upon. In assessing public policy output, the indicators used must be as neutral as possible, recognizing that absolute neutrality is impossible. Basically, the measure of policy output should be the legislative policy response in light of needs and demands in the environment. One approach would be to focus on some accepted measure of need and evaluate state policy according to this criteria. Welfare policy offers a good illustration. It is possible to relate welfare spending to the level of poverty in the state and thus to the requirement for a minimum standard of living, the latter being regarded as a measure of need. Similarily, the measures of educational, health, pollution and crime control policies could be related to measures on which there is substantial agreement that these indicators represent needs for those policies. A second alternative would be to relate the policy outputs to the level of demands from the environment. Since it could be argued that most legislative action is in direct response to needs which have been articulated as demands, an evaluation of the extent to which outputs approximate demands would indicate how "responsive" the enactment process is.

FEEDBACK

The final component in the model is feedback. This is included in order to point out that nothing a state legislature does is final. There is always some reaction to any policy action or inaction. For example, one result of state action regarding malpractice insurance was the restoration of medical services. After those concerned states passed some policy to resolve the conflict, physicians returned to work, patients were treated, and public tension was lowered. Citizens probably experienced mixed emotions as a result. Many were happy to have the problem resolved and probably developed higher regard for the legislature because it was helpful in restoring medical services. Some persons probably became resentful. Why should state government "bail out" the already too highly paid doctors. These individuals may have developed a lower regard for the state legislature for giving in to these demands. As a result of whatever policy decision the state legislature made, individuals were affected. There was feedback from the decision. Future changes will undoubtedly have to be made to adjust various aspects of public policy to this new element of state government's role in medical malpractice insurance.

CONCLUSION

This paper has presented a generalized model of the enactment process used by state legislatures and has concentrated on factors *within* the legislature. It is intended to organize one's conception of how state legislatures enact public policy. It directs attention to the most salient features in the enactment process as they affect public policy. Its major utility is in integrating disjointed pieces of information to produce an overall picture of the enactment process.

In a classroom setting, this model can be used to describe for students how public policy is enacted. It may also be used by students to identify what kinds of information they need in order to understand a specific legislature.

For instance, students should learn how to acquire information regarding policy needs using valid and objective criteria. (My needs are not the same as society's needs.) Also, they would need information concerning how needs are translated into demands. (If public employees need more job security, how is this articulated as a demand requiring resolution through legislative enactment?) In addition, is the enactment process configured in such a way as to maximize resolution of competing demands? (Are the legislative organization, personnel, process and leadership amendable to providing greater job security for public employees?) Does legislative performance, in terms of the enactment process, justify continued expenditure of resources? (Is the legislature cost effective for its output?) How do changes in one facet of the enactment process affect the process itself? (What happens to policy output if legislative leaders become more "task" and less "group solidarity" oriented?) In order for the model to guide students in answering questions such as those just posed, it must be incorporated into appropriate curricular materials.

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CHAPTER 5

NOTES ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF STATE POLICIES

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EDITORS' NOTE:

Professor Herbert Jacob of Northwestern University examines the implementation of state policies. Jacob is co-author of Politics in the American States *(1976). He identifies the conditions which make implementation of policy problematic or routine (See FIGURE 1). Much policy can be executed without opposition* but *there remain considerable barriers to implementation. It follows that the study of state politics must be alert to the structural and political obstacles to the implementation of policy. Again, this is an important lesson which is missing from most treatments of state politics in our schools.*

INTRODUCTION

As every executive knows, getting a policy adopted – while arduous and problematical – is only half the fight. Getting it implemented involves as many complexities and requires as much skill.

"Implementation," as used here, means putting into action the ideas intended or incorporated in legislation or some other form of policy statement. In this meaning, "implementation" is closely related to the notion of "compliance" and theories about the exercise of authority.

In state government, state executives face two general situations in attempting to implement public policy. The first set of problems they must confront consist of two elements – attempts to implement policy through their *own* agencies and attempts to implement policy through *parallel* state agencies. The second general situation confronts them when policy must be implemented by autonomous local agencies. Each of these general situations is examined in turn.

IMPLEMENTATION BY A SINGLE STATE AGENCY

Even within a single, simple agency structure, implementation is problematical. Research on organizational behavior is full of instances in which high-level decision makers could not extract compliant behavior from their subordinates. These studies have focused on several features of organizations which apply to both the private and public domains. They clearly affect the ability of state governments to implement their policies.

Effective Communications: The Sender

An imperative for effective implementation is that the organization have effective communication channels. Such channels must have several traits. They must link the several parts of an agency that need to be in contact with one another. The more direct the link, the less information will be lost during its communication. When, however, information must be channelled through many different levels and across subagency lines, the chances increase that messages will become garbled and misinterpreted. One can visualize the process somewhat like that of a home intercom system. The more complex the wiring and the more switching points it must go through, the greater the likelihood for a mechanical breakdown and the greater the chance that interference will mask some or all of the messages in the system. Likewise in an organization – the mundane matter of how memos and letters are routed and who may telephone whom becomes crucially important for assuring implementation of policy. If a policy directive cannot reach those persons responsible for putting it into action without being garbled, the policy obviously has little chance of being implemented.

Communications, however, are not simply a matter of linkages. Messages must also be clearly stated if they are to be understood by their intended recipients. That is a difficult matter in government for at least two reasons. The first is the unfortunate tendency of bureaucrats to formulate policy directives in "legalese," a language which some lawyers understand but which has only a tendentious relationship to everyday English. The bureaucratic preference for legalese stems not only from the fact that lawyers play a prominent role in formulating policies, but also from the fact that if few people understand the policy directive, outsiders are less likely to interfere in the agency's interpretation of it. Secondly, many government policies are phrased ambiguously because they are the product of compromise rather than single-minded rationality. The Supreme Court's dictum in Brown v. *Board of Education* that desegregation should proceed with "all deliberate speed" is a classic example of the ambiguity of policy directives. Ambiguous phrasings or significant omissions often are intentional consequences of the compromises required to obtain approval of the policy. Such ambiguities, however, place the administrator in a dilemma because at some point decisions must be made which clarify these ambiguities in one direction or another. The more such ambiguities are transmitted to subordinates rather than resolved by top policymakers, the more likely it is that implementation becomes problematical. The subordinate in such circumstances must either risk political reprisals by clarifying the ambiguities on his own or he must evade such risks by inaction.

Effective Communication: The Receiver

A communications model of organizational behavior presumes not only a sender and a set of communication channels; it also involves a receiver. The intended recipients of messages must not only receive them; they must understand them. All of us know how often children hear us but do not listen. That is equally common in organizations. Strong incentives exist for subordinates to misinterpret policy and to subvert policy implementation.

Subordinates, especially if they interact with different segments of the community than policymakers, may misinterpret directives for many reasons. Even when directives are clearly formulated and sent through simple communication networks, they may be reinterpreted in order to protect the subordinates' perception of their own interests. The subordinates' self-interest may differ from the policymakers' because they respond to different clientele groups, they perceive a different reality than the policymaker does, or they seek to avoid the uncertainties of unknown consequences of new policies. In the first instance, for example, an educational policymaker may be responding to the findings of educational researchers; implementers, however, must deal with teachers and parents. In the second instance, policymakers may be too far removed from the scene to appreciate the environment in which the implementer must work. It is a common experience of state and local administrators to marvel at regulations emanating from Washington; they may fit conditions in some other part of the nation but not in their locale. Finally, a common human trait is caution in the face of the unknown. Habitual routines become comfortable; new policies which upset those routines are likely to meet some resistance unless assurance is given that no nasty surprises lurk in the dark unknown which might injure the careers of the officials involved.

Attacking the Problem of Implementation

These are classical problems of organizational control. They may be addressed by a two-pronged attack. The first consists of utilizing communication channels so that information flows as effectively upward in the policy-making stage as it flows downward in the implementation stage. Policies which are formulated with incorrect or imprecise information are likely to be thwarted when implementation is attempted simply because they do not fit the circumstances for which they were intended.

The second line of attack lies in manipulating the incentives of lower echelon employees. Policymakers cannot rely on altruism. Policymakers must make it worthwhile for subordinates to have the same policy goals as they have. They must manipulate incentives so that it is in the subordinates' self-interest to implement policy faithfully.

Using the Budget for Implementation

Control of incentives involves effective utilization of budgetary policies within agencies. The budget not only provides information about what an agency has done or wants to do; it also provides the resources to get things done. Through the budget, policymakers can reallocate resources so that favored policies can be carried out without fail while lower priority activities compete for leftovers. Not all budgets, however, provide an effective management tool. The budget must show the application of particular resources for individual programs; it must have elements of what we call a "program budget." If the budget only shows how many persons, pencils, and reams of paper are allocated to an agency without apportioning them according to task, policymakers will have a difficult time directing resources to particular programs or objectives.

Using Personnel Policy for Implementation

Personnel policy provides another means for assisting policy implementation. Where personnel can be rewarded for superior achievement, they can be motivated more readily to perform according to the standards of the policymaker. Where persons with special skills can easily be hired and where recalcitrant workers can be readily dismissed, it is also more likely that new policies can be implemented effectively. These conditions are often absent in government agencies. Civil service merit systems commonly constrain special incentives for superior performance. Quick promotion or extra bonuses are typically not available to public policymakers for rewarding the performance of subordinates. As more of the public labor force becomes unionized and subject to contracts that are collectively bargained, such rewards become more scarce. Indeed it becomes more likely that the careers of public bureaucrats will be governed by seniority rules than by individual achievement. Likewise, it is often difficult for agency heads to hire new staff with particular skills if they must come from outside the civil service system. And it is legendarily difficult to dismiss recalcitrant and incompetent employees. This means that some of the incentives by which employees in the private sector are motivated to implement policy faithfully are absent in the public sector. That absence makes it more difficult for state agencies to obtain faithful policy implementation.

The Routine vs. The New

The problem is not identical for all policies. Policies which require extra effort, which upset established and well-liked routines, or which arouse resistance in the subordinates' environment are especially difficult to implement because they require extra and special incentives. On the other hand, policies with the opposite characteristics – those which can be routinely implemented, which reinforce rather than upset routines, and those which are greeted by enthusiasm from the implementers' environment – are easier to carry out. For instance, it is no great wonder that school desegregation has been difficult to achieve while water pollution policies have been relatively easy to carry out. To change the population of schools typically involves reshuffling teacher assignments and forces teachers to deal with different sets of pupils; in addition, it arouses considerable ire from many parents and taxpayers. By contrast, water pollution control does not upset administrative routines; it does not require enormous additional effort by officials. While it may be opposed by particular industries or companies, the general public is supportive and appreciative of the effort to provide clean water.

IMPLEMENTATION BY MULTIPLE STATE AGENCIES

So far we have been thinking only of the simplest case – implementation of a policy by a single agency. That is generally not the situation that states must face. Many policies involve multiple agencies; many involve several levels of government. Under these circumstances, implementation becomes even more difficult.

Horizontal Fragmentation

A major characteristic of American government is fragmentation. We can think of horizontal fragmentation as the division of powers and functions at a single level of government.

No governor is chief executive in the presidential sense, and even the President does not enjoy unrestrained executive powers. Governors, however, must share their executive responsibilities with many other elected officials and with boards that they only partially control.

Few state governments are streamlined so that single agencies handle all aspects of major problems. For example, educational policy is often carried out by competing boards of independent institutions. The highway department usually does not license intrastate truckers nor is it usually responsible for intrastate railroads. Environmental policies affect health but public health agencies are usually distinct from those which administer environmental regulations.

Two consequences flow from this horizontal fragmentation. One is that no single authority in state government effectively leads administrative agencies; there is no final coordinating authority in many spheres. Voluntary cooperation and collaboration must be sought and usually it can be purchased only at the price of compromise over policy goals. A second consequence of this fragmentation is that separate agencies administer different components of a policy. Typically, each agency works in its own interest group environment and responds to its own clientele. Policy is often distorted in implementation and sometimes agonizingly slow. It is slow because all the different implementers have to be brought together to hammer out compromises about jurisdiction, interpretation, and priorities. In a sense, it is the legislative process all over again.

What Can Be Done?

The horizontal fragmentation described above does not pose insuperable problems for implementation. With patience and skill a governor or other high executive can achieve considerable consensus among different agencies. Sometimes new agencies can be established for new programs or old agencies can be combined or reorganized to permit more effective implementation. But with some frequency, the structural fragmentation is further complicated by the fact that separate agencies are headed by competing political figures. This year's secretary of state may be next year's gubernatorial candidate opposing the incumbent in his party's primary or representing the opposite party in the general election. Such personal and party politics often play a considerable role in assisting or impeding the smooth implementation of policies at the state level.

IMPLEMENTATION THROUGH INDEPENDENT LOCAL AGENCIES

Many policies which are formulated by state legislatures are carried out by local officials of one sort or another. At the same time, state executives find themselves acting as administrators of policies made at the national level in Washington. This results in vertical fragmentation and presents a much more serious problem to the state executives than horizontal fragmentation.

Vertical Fragmentation

Local self-government has many virtues but they are mostly enjoyed by local residents and local officials and not by state or national leaders. The number of local agencies that state officials must deal with is staggering. Most states have hundreds of school boards, scores of municipalities and counties, dozens of special districts and a handful of regional agencies. The geographic jurisdictions of these local governments generally overlap in a crazy-quilt pattern. Many do not enjoy uniform powers and most do not speak with equal political authority. Large cities also are plagued with considerable horizontal fragmentation so that state agencies cannot simply deal with "the" city government but must negotiate with several competing city agencies.

Each local agency is rooted in its own political context. Its leading officials are usually elected. Within one area agencies often are headed by officials representing competing and conflicting constituencies. They do not speak with one voice for their area.

Moreover, local agencies often are less professionalized than their state counterparts. The state education department, composed of professional educators, for instance, must deal with locally elected school boards composed of laymen. State highway departments, staffed with professional engineers, must deal with municipal and county highway departments composed of persons lacking technical competence. This disjuncture has several implications. Local officials are sometimes incompetent. They often do not speak the same technical language as the state officials. They lack the school ties and the professional associations that bind workers together at the state level. They are more oriented toward their clientele than their professional reference group. Thus they often do not understand or wish to implement the policies which are formulated at the state level.

Lack of Personnel and Budget Controls

Vertical fragmentation also means an absence of controls over the incentives of implementing officials. Local officials are hired, promoted, and fired by local governments. Doing a good job in the eyes of a state executive generally does not help a local official keep or upgrade his job. Quite to the contrary, he may be perceived as the governor's man and get into trouble for that reason. There is little lateral personnel movement from local agencies to state agencies or the reverse. No state has a unified civil service which encompasses all state and local employees and permits transfer of a person from a

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city to state agency and back again as a regular career pattern. Consequently, state administrators lack the fundamental personnel tools which routinely exist in the private sector. They must persuade or badger; they cannot expect compliance as a right.

Often, of course, it is in the local government's self-interest to comply with state regulations and state agencies can obtain effective implementation. That occurs where the interests of the locale are reflected in the state's policy. But where there is a conflict between the state and some locales, compliance is problematical.

State manipulation of budgetary incentives is more complex. Local agencies raise some of their own money but in many policy areas they rely heavily on state funds. The use of state funds is often surrounded by intricate regulations which seek to assure compliance with state policies. However, they do not always achieve that objective. State agencies often do not detect deviations from their regulations in time to cut back the flow of state funds. Much state money, moreover, is distributed according to a set formula which does not allow discretionary redistribution according to the performance of local officials. The cutoff of state funds will also often create severe political difficulties for the state agency with the legislature when it seeks its next appropriation. Generally, state agencies can only make heavy-handed gestures with their fiscal powers; they can shut off the supply of funds or reopen it. Fine adjustments are usually not possible.

Although local agencies must account for their use of funds to state agencies, state agencies engage in relatively little independent auditing and investigation. Faced with the enormous array of local agencies that the state must deal with, it depends largely on self-reporting rather than on information gathered by its own agents. The state's information is consequently incomplete and insufficient to effectively enforce its policy directives in the fashion intended.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Impeding and Promoting Factors

The problems confronting state administrators is summarized in FIGURE 1. Listed there are the factors impeding and promoting faithful implementation of state policies.

FIGURE 1
SUMMARY OF FACTORS IMPEDING AND PROMOTING IMPLEMENTATION OF STATE POLICIES

Factors Impeding Implementation:

Fragmentation of responsibility across multiple agencies
Fragmentation of responsibility across multiple levels of government
Poor communication channels
Independent political base for implementing agency
Policies changing routines
Policies with uncertain consequences
Policies opposed by clientele

Factors Promoting Implementation:

Single agency responsibility
Effective communication channels
Budgeting controls
Personnel controls
Policies reinforcing routines
Policies with known consequences
Policies supported by clientele

Given these considerable problems, it becomes clear that neither citizens nor administrators can take implementation for granted. It is something they must work hard to achieve.

The System Does Work

Nevertheless, most policies are implemented faithfully. That is not the result of some miracle; nor does it emanate from Herculean efforts by public officials. There are underlying structural characteristics of state government which guarantee implementation of most policies in normal times.

The most important element is a shared dedication to make programs work. State and local agencies are not staffed by Fifth Columnists. Quite the contrary – agency staff typically have learned to believe in their agency's mission and to empathize with their clients. In part, that is a product of the way in which people cope with their work situation. Work is more meaningful to a person who believes in what he is doing and makes its success important to him. In part, it is also the result of self-selection; people drift into jobs they find meaningful. As a consequence, high level administrators ordinarily can count on a reservoir of good intentions to assist them in carrying out their agency's tasks.

Another helpful characteristic is that most policies arouse little opposition. In the past they may have generated considerable conflict but today they have become routine. The clientele or affected group expect government to behave in a certain way and they have adapted their own business or life style accordingly. The arrival of a tax bill, the scheduling of an art class (supported by state funds), the delivery of an unemployment check, or the sighting of a state patrol car on a freeway all involve routine implementation of state policies. Everyone expects that these functions will be performed faithfully. They suspect corruption if they are not.

So despite the considerable barriers to implementation that are outlined in this chapter, most government policies are carried out most of the time. However, the policies which attract most public attention – because they engender conflict or because they are novel – are not automatically implemented. Administrators must make conscious efforts to overcome the barriers and to promote the incentives summarized in FIGURE 1. It is a constant, difficult struggle.

CHAPTER 6

ASSESSMENT IN STATE GOVERNMENT

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EDITORS' NOTE:

Professor Rosenthal, currently at the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, is the author of Legislative Performance in the States *(1974).*

As he notes, even in political science proper, "assessment scarcely exists." Assessment, in the ideal case, is the matching of policy goals with policy performance. As with implementation, the significance lies in the fact that appraisal is neither routine nor automatic for many public policies in the states, and there are substantial political and administrative reasons for this. Rosenthal clearly details many of the problems associated with appraisal and notes that some types may be counterproductive.

INTRODUCTION

As a human activity assessment is ubiquitous. Whether we do it habitually or more self-consciously, we are frequently assessing, appraising, evaluating, rating, gauging the value of some thing or activity. People make assessments all the time.

Background

Yet, as a phase in the cycle of public policy-making, assessment scarcely exists. Specified as a governmental function years ago by Harold Lasswell,[1] assessment has nonetheless been almost completely ignored by political scientists. Until recently, in fact, political scientists – who are supposed to help us make sense of the buzzing confusion of political life – paid little heed at all to the processes of public policy creation. The attention they did give the policy processes was devoted largely to the stages of initiation and enactment, with implementation relegated to students of public administration and assessment overlooked entirely.

This oversight of political scientists is understandable, if not entirely commendable. In the first place, not much by way of assessment was actually going on; and, what was going on could not easily be differentiated as a distinct part of the policy processes. Second, politicians, the stock in trade of political scientists, were not involved in assessment, not to the extent that they were involved in the initiation and enactment of public policy. Third, whatever did take place by way of evaluation was an extremely subtle affair, so subtle, in fact, that it had no perceptible effect on the distribution of values, benefits, and goods. For the politicians and for political science as well, assessment was an enterprise far removed from power and public policy.

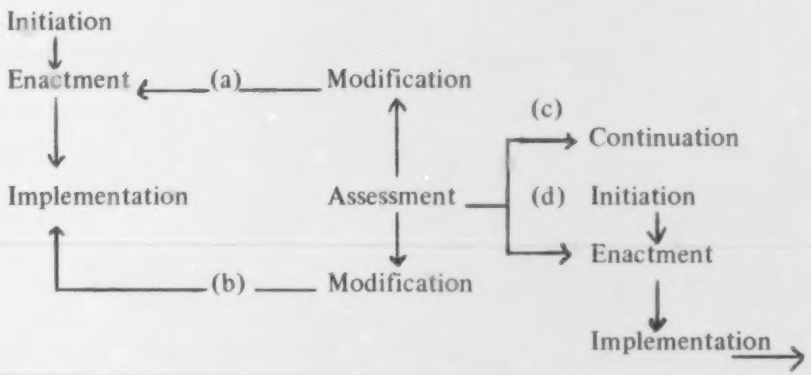
Current Status of Assessment

Most recently, the study of public policy has assumed a place in the sun. Its rediscovery by political scientists is evidenced by the formation of a policy studies organization and journal, an increasing number of articles, texts and courses, and the vigorous recruitment to junior faculty positions of those with special training in the field. Not only is the public-policy focus fashionable today, but largely because of societal forces, the assessment stage has been given a new importance. More and more assessment activity is taking place or being prescribed, and "performance auditing," "program review and evaluation," "sunset," "zero-base budgeting" are becoming familiar expressions. The 1970's brought to this nation a period of looking backward to see what had been achieved by means of activities already undertaken. Such retrospection, Schick explains, reflects a diminution of resources, a lack of will, and a loss of confidence in the efficacy of innovation, the utility of governmental action, and the reliability of social analysis.[2]

Assessment Defined

Whatever its heritage, assessment is now a legitimate activity and the assessment stage is perceived to be a significant part of the process. By assessment we mean appraisal and evaluation, such as assessing one's efforts or achievements, or assessing something with respect to its worth. Assessment is defined in this chapter to include the estimation or judgment as to the ways in which an ongoing policy (program) is being carried out, the effects it is having on people and on problems, its worth in terms of benefits and costs, and what, if any, steps should be taken to improve things. Given this broad definition, assessments are obviously being made at each stage of the public policy process. However, to achieve sharper focus, we shall treat assessment as a process which concludes after the stages of initiation, enactment, and implementation. It is reasonable to conceive of assessment on its own terms, as an identifiable and separate stage. The cycle of public policy is shown in the simple diagram below, which is adapted from the work of Jones.[3] As is

FIGURE 1
PUBLIC-POLICY PROCESSES



indicated, the assessment stage may generally result in the change of a policy through (a) modification of law, including its repeal, or (b) modification of implementation, including changes in funding, or in (c) continuation without change, or (d) the initiation, enactment, and implementation of a new policy.

ACTORS AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT

Before proceeding further to specify just what types of assessment activity take place, it is necessary to identify those involved. Essentially the same individuals and groups are involved as at the prior stages of initiation, enactment and implementation, although each one's involvement is not quite the same.

Who is Involved?

The principal actors are: (1) policy/program administrators, those who are responsible for management, e.g., directors of state divisions of elementary education, vocational education, recreation, employment security, and so forth; (2) private interest groups, e.g., a state association of teachers or school supervisors, a hospital association, the insurance industry, and numerous others; (3) political executives which would include secretaries or commissioners of agriculture, education, labor, industry, and other department heads; (4) governors and their staffs, including departments of administration, budget bureaus, and special commissions; and (5) legislatures, as well as their committees and staff agencies.

What is Their Involvement?

These individuals and groups have different incentives, pursue dissimilar objectives, and employ a variety of practices, as far as assessment is concerned. Overall, the assessment activity they undertake varies inversely with their involvement in particular public policies and programs, as is outlined in FIGURE 2 below. The more involved these actors – in terms of being close to, having direct stakes in, and being responsible for the conduct and effectiveness of the policy or program – the less inclined they are to participate in the assessment phase of the process.

Take, for example, those who manage policies and programs and those interest groups which are regulated or receive services. They are right at the center of public policy, and are usually critical in the stages of initiation, enactment, and implementation. However, they are peripheral when it comes to assessment. Administrators are more intent on carrying out their program and making moderate adjustments than they are on evaluating the effectiveness of what they are providing and the manner in which they go about their jobs. Clientele interest groups are not very different. Those who receive services generally want more and those who are regulated frequently are willing to leave things alone. If there is dissatisfaction, interest groups are much more likely to press for the enactment of new policy than to expend energies or resources on the assessment of old policy.

Governors and legislatures, in contrast, are somewhat more active in assessment. Their proximity, their stakes, and their responsibilities for policies and programs are at the intermediate levels; they are not as intimately involved as administrators. However, they are starting to ask questions about the implementation and effectiveness of ongoing programs primarily through the budget process.

FIGURE 2
ACTORS AND PATTERNS OF INVOLVEMENT

Actors	*Patterns of Involvement*			
	Proximity to Policy	Stakes in Policy	Responsibility for Policy	Intensity of Assessment
Policy/Program Administrators	Proximate	High	Considerable	Low
Interest Groups	Proximate	High	Little	Low
Policital Executives	Proximate	High	Considerable	Low/Medium
Governors	Intermediate	Medium	Some	Medium
Legislatures	Intermediate	Medium	Some	Medium

OBJECTIVES AND INCENTIVES

Patterns of involvement depend in part on the objectives that actors bring to their assessment tasks. Objectives or purposes vary from the essentially symbolic on the one hand, to the primarily political on the other. Usually, multiple purposes are at work simultaneously. Six of the most important objectives are outlined below.

Responding to Social, Public, and Media Demands

Much of the assessment activity that is now taking place within the states has as its major objective responding to general demands for accountability and evaluation. Legislatures, and to a somewhat lesser extent, governors, are very responsive to contemporary currents. They are more than ready to pay lip service to assessment; they are ready to legislate accountability provisions and insist that agencies evaluate their own programs; and they are even ready to devote some of their own resources to the enterprise. It can be argued that more than anything else, they are seeking approval for right mindedness and devotion to the public interest from citizens, public interest groups, and the press.

Sometimes assessment activity follows specific rather than general demands; and the main purpose is to be responsive to particular problems and complaints. For example, a series of articles exposing maladministration in job training or employment insurance programs may prompt a governor to establish an investigative commission or the legislature to establish a special oversight committee. Or, a group of citizens, organized on behalf of the public schools, may discover in the course of study the inefficient use of funds for handicapped children. Chances are that the House or Senate education committee, the governor, or the state commissioner of education will undertake some assessment activity in response.

Elected officials, in the executive and legislative branches, are the ones who have the greatest incentive to appear responsive; and, when public approval is at stake, respond they will, giving at least the appearance of assessment and occasionally going further.

Capturing Attention and Furthering Careers

Even without visible demands some public officials will use assessment – and, in particular, its investigative aspects – to capture the attention of the media and the public, thereby enhancing their own careers. This is most typical of legislators who have ambitions for higher office (whether statewide or congressional), and are seeking attractive issues with which to promote themselves. Promotional purposes are seldom wholly responsible for assessment endeavors, but seldom will politicians neglect them altogether.

Holding Down Expenses and Saving Money

A major purpose of assessment is to limit the normal increases in budgetary expenditures or, on rare occasion, to actually reduce expenditure levels. As a rule, fiscal objectives are manifested in the annual (or biennial) budgetary processes. The tendency during the budget cycle is for program managers to ask for more – more personnel, more materials – so that they can do a better job. The governor, through his budgetary agency, usually trims such requests, by five or ten percent, or sometimes by a higher percentage. In the past at least, legislatures have generally gone along with the overall figures, and have been just as likely to appropriate more rather than less than the governor's budget specified.[4] Assessments made as part of these budgetary processes have been extremely narrow in scope, with major attention given to agency expenditures and little judgment applied to the implementation or effects of programs that come under review.

Instilling in Bureaucrats Discipline and a Sense of Accountability

There is a widespread belief among citizens that bureaucrats are no longer accountable – if they ever were – for what they do. As representatives of the people, legislators not only share this belief, but go even further. Many of them feel that bureaucrats have gotten out of control and need to be disciplined. Through the strategies of legislative investigations and oversight, legislators aim to keep bureaucrats honest and to induce them to work diligently to carry out policies and programs according to legislative intent. Although distrust of bureaucrats may be shared by governors and by department heads, it is legislators who express this distrustful attitude most frequently and demand greater accountability.

Providing Information and Direction to Improve Implementation, Resource Allocation, and the Delivery of Services

Gathering information that will assist administrators or managers in conducting policies and programs is ideally a principal objective of assessment. For instance, if it is found that one method of the delivery of a service is not effective in reaching intended clients, then the method should be changed by those managing the program. If, for example, a statewide educational assessment system shows that children in certain schools are lagging in reading achievement, then state education department officials may want to reallocate additional resources to such schools. The types of objectives noted here are modest ones, and are pursued, if at all, by department and agency administrators who see possiblities of piecemeal change. From time to time, legislative committees may pursue a similar course, although their inclinations are to be more concerned with decisions on major thrusts and changes and less concerned with operationally-relevant information.

Reorienting, Modifying, or Actually Abolishing a Policy, Program, or Agency

A most commendable objective of assessment is to make an improvement in a program, policy, or agency. Indeed, it is this objective that is generally considered to be central to evaluation. At the extreme, for example, if assessment reveals that a state manpower training program is costly and ineffective, then it should be abolished by the legislature. Or, if study shows that an occupational licensing board governing morticians is serving no useful purpose, then the board should be disbanded. There are, of course, many less extreme possibilities. If there are two programs designed to achieve similar ends, and one is working better than the other, then the one might be expanded, while the other could be contracted or phased out. If the legislature's intentions change, but assessment reveals that a program's aims have stayed the same, then a change in program goals can be instituted. Or, if intended beneficiaries are shown to be neglected, then direction can be given to reallocate resources so that their benefits are increased.

Reorientation, modification, and abolition are generally the objectives of the state's principal policy makers. Governors may pursue such objectives through the evaluation bureaus of their departments of administration or, more likely, through special commissions which they establish to undertake special assessment tasks. Legislatures, most recently, have gone beyond mere lip service in trying to further these objectives. Audit commissions, oversight committees, special commissions, and even regular standing committees occasionally embark upon evaluative endeavors in the hopes of making improvement.

The Payoff of Assessment

Despite the objectives listed above, which appear compelling and command allegiance, the incentives for most public officials to engage in assessment are not very strong. On balance, they are probably outweighed by disincentives. The fact is few people like to be evaluated or have what they do critically assessed regardless of how laudable the objective may be. Many resent evaluation; many feel threatened by it; and many assume defensive postures when it comes their way. The overwhelming tendency is for evaluation to be critical, not approbative, and it is difficult to persuade people that criticism is good for them.

Neither program administrators nor department heads particularly like to have others looking over their shoulders.[5] They usually lack the resources to do much by way of assessment; moreover, the technique is unlikely to appeal to them. In one state, for instance, there were recent disclosures detailing how some operators of bus companies were taking advantage of a state subsidy program by writing off executive salaries, insurance policies, and entertainment expenses to the program. In responding to criticism, the state transportation commissioner argued that his department did not have the staff to monitor the expenditures of state funds by the bus companies. "What's more," he went on, "we don't want to be involved in this kind of (investigatory) procedure. We would rather concentrate our efforts on improving commuter service than running a Gestapo."

In any case, it is only reasonable that department heads and other administrators must have some assurance that data gathered during assessment can be applied to the solution. Many political executives feel that, although they can generate a new policy here and a new program there, they have relatively little control over what is already in place. Most important, their hands are tied by rigid civil service systems when the improvement of programs might necessitate the disciplining of personnel. For example, the New Jersey chief of residential services for severely disturbed children, in a legislative hearing, recommended against the state operating residential facilities because of the difficulty in dismissing incompetent state employees. His sentiments were echoed by the commissioner of the department of corrections. He blamed the state's dismal prison system on civil service regulations which make it almost impossible to dismiss incompetent guards.[6]

Taking a cue from Congress, state legislatures have lately begun to enact provisions requiring departments and agencies to periodically evaluate their own programs and report back. Such requirements have not been taken very seriously or produced very much. Self-assessment is difficult, and the tendency is for department and agency reports to be justifications rather than objective evaluations. The major examples of evaluation actually going on are assessment programs in elementary and secondary education. As of today, over forty states have statewide educational assessment programs. Many of these are designed to determine how schools are faring in terms of student outcomes and to identify which instructional programs are more and which are less effective. Thus far, statewide educational assessment programs have had only modest success, but some useful information is beginning to be provided.

On their parts, governors have greater incentive to engage in assessment, but mainly of the fiscal variety through the processes of budgeting. Judgments are made regularly, especially under conditions of fiscal restraint, as to which agency is spending too much, which is increasing expenditures too rapidly, and which can do with less or with the same amount rather than with more. Broader evaluations of the administration and effectiveness of programs are less to gubernatorial tastes. Governors are responsible for the departments and agencies that comprise the Administration, and thus are reluctant to encourage evaluation that may well turn out to be critical of them in the public eye.

Legislators are far enough removed from the conduct of policies and programs, so they have less at stake. Because of the high turnover of membership in state legislatures and the lack of continuity of personnel on standing committees, few legislators have been personally involved in policies and programs they might later review. Proprietary interests are seldom strong. But most legislators are not disposed to the tasks of legislative oversight, however important they may be. Their inclination is to look forward, fashioning new proposals, enacting new laws, and satisfying as many claims and demands as possible. Most are little disposed to look backwards, reviewing what they or their predecessors have done and trying to make changes. The rewards, whatever they may be, appear to go to those who innovate, invent, and create, and not to those who assess, criticize, modify, or destroy.

PATTERNS AND PRACTICES OF ASSESSMENT

Despite a lack of incentives, assessment activity does go on. Since it is more likely to be undertaken by governors and legislatures, we shall stress their patterns and practices of assessment here.[7] Five general patterns merit consideration: investigation; budget analysis; program review; agency trial, and unintentional assessment.

Investigation

Although from time to time governors may take the initiative in establishing commissions to undertake investigations, this assessment practice is properly associated with legislatures. In a number of states there are special investigating committees or commissions, such as Illinois' Legislative Investigating Commission. In others there are standing committees on governmental operations that perceive one of their major roles to be investigative. Naturally, there are all kinds of investigations, most of which are concerned with agency abuses – malfeasance, discrimination, faulty enforcement, incompetence, inefficiency, and corruption. Investigations follow in the wake of emergency, scandal, or violence. But they are conducted also when a series of news stories indicate problems in the administration of

Medicaid, when an association of fishermen objects to the arbitrary practices of bureaucrats in the division of fisheries, and when consumers complain about the rapid rise of electric and gas rates.

Budget Analysis

More effort is devoted to budget analysis than to any other assessment practice. This is because governors and legislatures have virtually no choice and extremely little discretion. The budget must be formulated, and this is almost always an executive task; and, the budget must be reviewed and adopted by the legislature. For the most part, however, budgeting is incremental. It is restricted by limited rationality, inadequate information, and a lack of any clear ordering of objectives. What counts most is the base, last year's level of appropriations (or expenditures). Increments are usually added on, or decrements are sometimes taken away. According to Schick, for most ongoing government programs the budget process, weighted as it is in favor of past decisions, is not very potent. "Often budgeting is merely the routine," in his view, "for supplying funds to existing programs, plus some incremental adjustments to suit political or financial conditions."[8] Even under such a system, some assessment obviously does take place. But it is only partial assessment for "in taking a look at what was spent last year, budgeters rarely look back to see what was accomplished."[9]

During the last decades, there have been several attempts to make budgeting a more comprehensive and evaluative process. PPB or planning-programming-budgeting is the most obvious example, although recently zero-base budgeting has become the fashion. Overall, PPB has been less than a smashing success, and it would not be surprising if zero-base follows a similar path. Nevertheless, aspects of PPB have become integral parts of the budgetary processes throughout the nation; and in states like New York, Wisconsin, California, Pennsylvania, and Hawaii the system has injected the evaluation of program performance into the process.[10]

Today, it is the legislature, through its appropriations committees, that is trying hardest to combine program evaluation with budgetary analysis. The Hawaii Legislature, drawing on its office of Legislative Auditor, has led the way in this regard. But California with its Legislative Analyst, Connecticut with its Office of Fiscal Analysis, Maryland with its Department of Fiscal Services, Louisiana with its Legislative Fiscal Office, and Wisconsin with its Legislative Fiscal Bureau are following suit. More and more, legislatures are looking beyond budgetary increments and expenditures; they are starting to assess the programs, operations, and services that their funds are buying.

Program Review

Here, we refer to what in practice is almost exclusively a legislative enterprise, and a growing enterprise at that. An increasing number of legislatures are undertaking some form of assessment activity beyond normal budgeting.

About twenty legislatures have established special staff agencies to support legislative committees or commissions with assessment studies. In a number of states – such as Hawaii, Kansas, Colorado, Minnesota, and Maine – the office of legislative auditor is charged with evaluating ongoing programs and undertaking audits of agency performance. In other places there are agencies like New York's Legislative Commission on Expenditure Review, Illinois' Economic and Fiscal Commission, Virginia's Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, and Connecticut's Office of Program Review and Investigations, which engage in evaluative activities on behalf of the legislature. Hawaii's auditor and New York's commission have been involved in reviewing programs for approximately eight years. The other agencies have been operating for even shorter periods. All told, however, the twenty groups have produced nearly four hundred assessment studies for state legislatures.

Generally, programs are selected as targets for review under one or several conditions: if problems in implementation or effectiveness are perceived by legislators; if substantial, or increasing, state monies are involved; if the findings of assessment could make a difference in the shape or conduct of the program; and if the program is susceptible to review and evaluation. The listing below of reviews of programs and agencies offers some idea of the types of ventures that have been undertaken thus far:

Land acquisition
Secondary vocational education
Unemployment compensation
Medicaid costs
Department of environmental protection
Student financial assistance
Nursing homes
Corrections
Alcoholic beverage licensing
Educational accountability
Motor vehicle insurance
School construction
University faculty workload
Public utilities
Day care licensing
Drug abuse

Water utilization
Planning and construction of state freeway system
Medical vendor payments
Instructional television
Work incentive programs
Use of consultants by state agencies
Youth services
Community mental health
Purchasing social services under Title XX
Public employee pension system
Educational opportunity fund
Civil service system
Parole system
Urban renewal assistance
Green acres land acquisition
Manpower training
Consumer food health protection
State university construction
Driver licensing and control
Manpower training
Community colleges

Approaches and techniques vary tremendously from one agency to another and from one program to the next. As a rule, however, the focus is on questions such as:

What objectives are being pursued in the conduct of the program? Are these in accord with the legislature's intent?

In what manner and how efficiently is the program being administered? What about agency organization and personnel?

How effective is the program in reaching intended recipients with designated services? What are its immediate and its longer-range effects? What, if any, unanticipated consequences does it have?

What should be done to improve the implementation and effectiveness of the program? How can this be accomplished?

Despite the resources devoted to assessment, progress has been slow. The professional staffs of legislatures have been more concerned with assessment than have legislators themselves. It has not been unusual for a program review, painstakingly prepared by staff, to be virtually ignored by a legislative committee. But, increasingly, legislators are paying attention and participating in the assessment enterprise. Not only are they determining what programs need examination, but they are starting to follow through on the findings that their staffs present. Assessment by legislatures is beginning to take effect, as recent happenings in states such as California, Connecticut, Florida, Kansas, and Minnesota seem to indicate.

Agency Trial

A pattern similar in many respects to program review is currently emerging. Sparked by the Common Cause drive for "sunset" legislation, this newest approach relies on the same types of techniques that are used in program review. But the approach is much more extreme in that at regular intervals it places executive agencies on trial, requiring them to justify their existence or go out of business. Sunset's assumption is that many agencies and programs have outlived their usefulness and should be permitted to expire. Therefore, according to sunset, each agency and each program should be authorized only for a limited period and should have to win reauthorization from the legislature in order to continue.

Sunset laws have been passed in half the states and will undoubtedly be enacted in some more. The scope of such laws varies. In Colorado, for instance, they apply only to regulatory and licensing boards; in Alabama, by contrast, almost every state agency is mandated to go through the review process and be approved or else terminated. It is too early to tell whether the extensive or even the limited sunsets will work. There are serious questions, however. Are legislatures ready to do regularly what they have just begun to do intermittently? Can they assess in specific cases? Should their ability to pick and choose be so restricted? Is abolition of an agency (or even a program) a practical alternative, or is the continuation-termination dichotomy politically infeasible?

At the very least, the requirement for a periodic review, buttressed by performance audits and either affirmative reenactment or termination of several or all agencies constitutes a monumental task. Given their past records of assessment, it would seem that few, if any, state legislatures are up to it.

Unintentional Assessment

This last category is a miscellaneous grouping of assessment practices. They range from a governor's meeting with a department head to a hearing by a legislative committee. Reporting requirements established by a department of administration on behalf of the state's chief executive, the review of proposed legislation by the governor's staff or by a standing committee screening bills, a committee hearing on prospective legislation, even the intervention by a legislator on behalf of a constitutent with an administrative agency – all are occasions for assessment, however casual they may be. They are occasions that prompt governors, legislatures, and their staffs to ask how well things are going. Asking questions, getting answers, and making judgments are part of the assessment process. Therefore, though assessment of ongoing programs is not the primary purpose of many activities, it may be a latent and important consequence.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Currently at both the national and state levels there is a movement underway to enchance the effectiveness of governmental policies and programs through systematic assessment.[11] But more systematic review and evaluation is fraught with difficulty. The assessment enterprise is relatively new, especially in the states, but already serious problems are emerging.

Data Collection Problems

There are many problems associated with the collection of data. What sorts of data will be gathered, and at what costs? Already dangers are upon us. Reporting requirements have become overwhelming, and heavy demands are being made in the name of accountability, analysis, and data-information systems. Virtually everyone on a public payroll is presently deluged with paperwork, filling out forms and reporting information. Some have argued that Washington is data deluged, and in the states more and more facts are being collected on regular bases. The problem is no longer too little information; rather, it is that the information currently being collected is only infrequently put to use. Indeed, reporting information may actually be replacing implementation as a major administrative endeavor.

Analysis Problems

There are also problems associated with analysis. What are a program's objectives? Usually they are unclear and cannot easily be specified. What the legislature intended when it first enacted a program is often far from certain. What it intends right now is just as indefinite. Whose intention – a sponsor's, a chairperson's, a leader's – in any case counts as the legislature's? Beyond objectives, there is the matter of effectiveness. How can a program's effects, and hence its effectiveness, be determined? It is no simple affair to make determinations in measurable terms; and it is almost impossible to isolate a program's impacts from those of other forces and factors. Knowledge that is systematic, compelling, and applicable still eludes the analytic schemes and methods offered by the social sciences.

Action Problems

There are problems, finally, associated with action itself. Whatever the results of assessment, what actions are advisable and feasible in terms of reshaping programs and altering bureaucratic behavior? Can anything, or very much, be done? How is it best to proceed? Attention must be given to administrators, program managers, and those charged with the delivery of services, for their cooperation is usually needed if improvement is to take place. Strategies that take into account human incentives and behavior are necessary. Without some sensitivity by state policy makers, assessment can have various adverse, rather than positive effects. It can, for example, cause bureaucracies to shift their energies into those areas that can be measured quantitatively, the ones they assume will be scrutinized by evaluators. Or it can lead to steadfast resistance as bureaucrats, upset by the prospects of criticism and change, displace energies formerly spent on implementation onto defense of their established routines and their chartered terrain.

CONCLUSION

Assessment is a ticklish business. Although it has seldom gone far enough, it can easily be overdone. Those politicians – primarily governors and legislators – who have principal responsibility at the assessment stage of the policy processes will have to be extraordinarily deft in their judgments and their actions. Otherwise the problems mentioned above will surely increase. Although difficult and entailing risk, assessment can be done. Legislatures, perhaps more than the other agencies of state government, are in a position to do it. A start has been made and responsibility has been assumed. If state governments are modest in their goals, lavish in their efforts, serious in their concerns, and skillful in their operations, then progress can be made. Assessment then will become more than an isolated practice and more than an analytical stage of the public policy process; it will become a productive part of state government.

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CHAPTER 7

CURRICULAR MATERIALS FOR STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: Where Do We Go From Here?

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This concluding chapter presents a summary of some of the perspectives given in earlier chapters on civic education in general and the teaching of state government and politics in our secondary schools. It seems clear that if civic education has difficulties, instruction about state government and politics certainly needs shoring up, since it faces the additional problem of neglect.

The problems associated with curricular change are also addressed here. It has often been stated that changing the public school curriculum is like moving a graveyard: slow and difficult. The curriculum has not kept pace with either the changing body of knowledge or the changing needs of students. Many propositions have been advanced about the most effective way to update and improve the curriculum but few of these proposals have borne significant fruit. But major efforts by curriculum development projects, supported by the federal government and private funding foundations, are beginning to pay off. We are optimistic about the prospects for change.

Some argue that materials on state government and politics, by nature, must be situation specific. The concluding discussion points out that materials can be developed on state government and politics that can be used in all the fifty states. Each state does not need to develop its own unique materials. Similarities in the process of public policy formation at the state level far exceed those characteristics which are unique. These similarities can be included in curriculum materials to aid students in all states. These materials can help students understand how public policy is initiated, how it is enacted, how it is implemented and, finally, how it can be assessed.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE PROBLEMS OF CIVIC EDUCATION

Taking cues from Professor's Patrick's analysis of civic education found in Chapter 1, one can see several critiques that have been advanced in education literature on what is wrong with American civic education. This is to be expected when there are multiple, and often conflicting, values and consequently different goals. The only general agreement is that schools are not doing a very good job – no matter what the goals are. For example, one of the most frequently cited articles on the impact of the high school civics curriculum concluded that, generally, civics courses were of not discernible consequence.[1]

Despite the diversity of opinion, three broad (and sometimes overlapping) charges emerge against civic education. First, high school civic curricula do an inadequate job of presenting basic democratic values, particularly those values which relate to the duties of citizenship. Second, misperceptions about politics in the schools contribute to a lack of "realism" on the part of many students about politics and the American (as well as other) political systems. Finally, it is argued that students are insufficiently exposed to modes of political inquiry leaving them ill-equipped to do their own "reality testing" of the political system.[2] Uninformed students may easily become disenchanted with the political system after their first brush with "reality." Although these three points of view reflect different perspectives, we believe they can be combined in a general critique of civics curricula.

Civics as Values – Inculcation

One critical perspective sees the purpose of civic education as the development of an understanding and appreciation of "democratic principles and values." It is observed that a majority of citizens (most of whom are high school graduates) in no way live up to the ideals of citizen participation: "The society today reflects considerable apathy and disenchantment toward government and public responsibilities."[3] Holders of this perspective argue that "conventional approaches in the teaching of citizenship"[4] have manifestly failed. Part of the problem, they point out, lies in schools themselves, which can hardly serve as models for learning participatory values. Such critics point to the need for opportunities for genuine student participation in the decision-making in the schools.[5]

In general, this critique derives from what political scientists call the "rational-activist" model of democratic citizenship.[6] Emphasis is placed on the need for informed participation in public affairs. Some students of politics have criticized the model for overestimating the requirements placed on individuals in democracy and underplaying other, systematic, requirements. Nonetheless, this perspective serves to remind one of a central purpose for civic education, namely, fostering democratic norms.

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Civics as Realism

The realist position can provide a needed balance to the democratic values critique. It asserts that a "cultural lag" exists between what is taught about politics in the schools and what we think we know about politics. Curricula largely deal with the formal, the legal, and the ethical aspects of politics to the exclusion of describing and explaining the political process.[7] The results of modern political science have not filtered down to the high school.

In a related way, a lack of realism concerning democratic politics is criticized. It is maintained that textbook views of democracy are overly idealistic: they present a naive, idealistic view of political life, confusing the ideals of democracy with the realities of politics. Among the realities of politics are influence, conflict, compromise, delay and disorder. Politics is fundamentally a conflict over values, yet "conflict over values and the process of attaining accommodational decisions – the controversy, competition and compromise that is the essence of political activity – is glossed over or omitted."[8] In short, the realist believes civics education omits the heart, the politics, from the classroom. This, of course, was a major theme in Representative Kane's paper.

One can even argue that schools tend to perpetuate certain myths about politics and the political system detrimental to the political system. Consider some of the myths which we promote in our orderly, rational view of the political system: that political independence is to be prized and that affiliation with a political party is suspect (vote the man, not the party); special interest activity is to be deplored because it is destructive of the public interest; individual citizens are, or can be, well-informed and opinionated across a broad range of social and political issues, and finally, politics and politicians are morally suspect because effectiveness requires compromise of basic principles. The point here is that for each of these myths, there is a strong counter-position which is seldom articulated, and which, if presented, would strengthen the capacity for effective political action.

Civics as Dynamic

One final criticism needs airing: civics education focuses too much attention on the *what* and not enough on the *how*, on the structure instead of the process of government. For example, "Entirely too many textbooks present material on governmental structures and functions in a descriptive-prescriptive fashion. Virtually no space is devoted to basic political concepts and methods of inquiry."[9] Students are only infrequently encouraged to think about methodological problems, for example, how do we know that a descriptive statement about politics is true? There is little or no emphasis on the process of reaching political judgments. This criticism compliments the previous two and is a major factor in our attempt to develop a dynamic model of state government.

The above problems of democratic values, realism and process, are exacerbated when we consider that the focus of civics education is on national and local governments. If the education of students is inadequate conceptually and substantively where attention is focused, how much more serious must the problem be in state politics which gets little or misguided attention? States, once considered the "laboratories of democracy," are, as Professor Patrick points out, almost totally neglected in civic education.

If this critique is correct, is there any hope of improving the secondary social studies curriculum by including materials on state government and politics? We think there is.

THE CURRICULUM REVOLUTION

Historical Background

In order to understand the prospects for curriculum change in this field we need to examine the general curriculum revolution which has occurred in the last twenty years. Perhaps there has been as much change in the curriculum since 1957 as there was in the first 180 years of the Republic. What caused this change, what was the change, and where did it occur? The answers to these questions are important in understanding the arguments given below which focus on the development of curriculum materials on state government and politics.

The change in the secondary curriculum was caused by the launching of Sputnik by the Soviet Union in 1957 and the reaction of the American people to that event. At the time, it appeared obvious to many that the American educational system was falling behind the educational system of our cold war adversary. No one was sure whose fault it was that this apparent calamity had befallen the most powerful nation on earth. Reaction took many forms ranging from media attacks on the schools to conferences held by some of the nation's most prestigious scholars and educators as they examined what was being taught in the schools, how it was being taught, and where the system was failing.[10]

There were two very important public reactions to the situation. One was an extensive effort by the federal government to retrain teachers in their respective disciplines by enrolling them in summer and academic year institutes. The second was the funding of large curriculum materials development projects. A great deal of criticism was heaped on the institute program as studies indicated that teachers returned to their classrooms and taught exactly as they had in the past. They did not incorporate their new understanding of the discipline into the curriculum. The institute programs supported by the National Science Foundation and the U.S. Office of Education were very favorably viewed by the Congress. Much of the early legislation authorizing such programs specified the dollar amount of appropriations that agencies had to spend to retrain teachers. Those close to the political scene in Washington shared the view that the institute programs were more politically inspired than by a true concern for the improvement of the educational system. Congressmen took delight in announcing the funding of such programs at their local colleges and universities, and, no doubt, hoped that such efforts by the Congress would find rewards for them in the ballot box at election time.

The other effort to improve education, as noted above, took shape as the U.S. Office of Education, the National Science Foundation (NSF), and some private foundations funded large curriculum development projects. First, mathematics and science curriculum projects were initiated. These were supported largely by the NSF. There was a great deal of talk about the creation of "teacher proof" materials. That is, the authors of these materials on physics, chemistry, biology, and mathematics thought that the curriculum materials they developed could be so well constructed that teachers in the classroom, if they followed the author's direction, could not go wrong. Students would learn science and mathematics in spite of their poorly trained teachers. This notion was soon put to rest as the developers learned that there were materials-proof teachers. It did not matter what they had in the way of excellent materials, some would still do a poor job in the classroom. However, without good materials, even the best teachers could not teach the subject so that students would learn the nature of science and mathematics. If teachers were to teach students the process of science and the fundamentals of mathematics, they needed new and improved materials. The experts agreed that for too long teachers had required students to memorize facts that were soon forgotten, generalizations that were never applied, and laws that did not make sense to either the teacher or the student. Science had to be taught as a process, a way of thinking, a way of problem solving.

Later during this same twenty-year period, the U.S. Office of Education supported projects in the social sciences, history, and English. Still later, the National Science Foundation supported projects in sociology, anthropology, geography, and recently, political science. These projects had the blessings of national professional associations such as the American Sociological Association, the American Anthropological Association, the Association of American Geographers, and the American Political Science Association. The cost of these projects ranged from several hundred thousands of dollars to millions of dollars. Complete courses of study were developed and the materials included many student activities that rarely found their way into classrooms. These activities included ingenious simulations and games, audio-visual materials, models, role-playing situations, readings, lab activities and a number of others.

The Importance of the Curriculum Materials Development Projects

The importance of these curriculum materials development projects has not been the impact that each project has had upon the teaching of the particular discipline, but the way in which the content and strategies for teaching found in the materials have impacted upon the commercially published materials now used in the schools. The revolution was not in teacher training through summer and academic year institutes, and it was not in the direct use of the materials from all these projects. Rather, it has been in the way in which curriculum materials are now being developed. In a recent newsletter, William V. Mayer makes this point forcibly clear when he states:

> ...curriculum development efforts also served as models designed to be copied and free-licensed to facilitate such copying so that the influence of curriculum development products may not be so much in their adoption as individual programs but for their influence on other materials. In the case of biology, approximately 50 percent of American secondary school youngsters use BSCS materials directly, but 100 percent are using materials patterned after and influenced by those developed by the BSCS. One need only examine a high school biology text of 1960 and compare it with high school biology texts used today to see how dramatically the curriculum development movement has influenced school materials.[11]

It is appropriate to ask, "Where did the curriculum and the materials for the curriculum come from before the advent of the national curriculum development projects?" The most typical situation was, and in some case still is, the teaming of a college professor and a secondary or elementary teacher in the writing of a textbook that "covered" a subject. The professor presumably understood the discipline and the teacher could translate the content into materials that a student could understand. Chapters were written, questions posed at the end of each chapter, and often a workbook was prepared for student use. The questions were the authors, the answers (most often facts) were found in the text, and the teacher set the students on a scavenger hunt filling out the worksheets.

What then was different about the curriculum development projects? Several significant changes are worth noting.

Teams of scholars, teachers, educators, and psychologists developed conceptual models which described the discipline under attack. Concepts and generalizations from these models were turned into teaching activities. Students were faced with a multitude of different activities as they inquired into the content of the discipline. Activities were field tested. Those activities which worked were incorporated into learning packages. Those that failed were discarded. The discipline was taught honestly, students were given situations to test the conceptual models in the real world; and the process of education became inquiry oriented as students asked "their own questions" and found answers to them not from a textbook, but from a variety of sources.

It is important to understand how the materials developed in the fashion described above are fundamentally different from those developed in the more conventional way. It is most likely that the material will be more current, including the latest thinking from the discipline, because the team of developers includes scholars who are on the frontier of knowledge. In addition, the materials include many different student activities which allow the teacher to vary the pace of instruction. They are developed under the guidance of educational psychologists who insure that theories of learning are considered and are incorporated into the teaching activities. They are tested in the classroom and either improved or rejected before they are printed. There is some assurance that they will work with both students and teachers.

In summary, what has been learned from the millions of dollars that have been invested in the curriculum materials development project during the past twenty years? First, we now know that the curriculum can be changed not by teacher training but by changing the materials that teachers cannot use in the classroom. We have also learned that all teachers cannot use these newly inspired materials nor any other materials. There are and always will be poor teachers. Third, we have learned that by involving disciplinarians in teams of curriculum developers we can get new knowledge into the classroom faster, perhaps up to fifteen years faster. Finally, we are now discovering that commercial publishing houses are using the discoveries of the curriculum materials development projects in the creation of their own materials, thus changing the curriculum. A revolution of some magnitude has occurred.

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR CIVICS CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Thus far two arguments have been made. First, the teaching of civics is in some disarray and the teaching of state government and politics is almost unheard of in the secondary curriculum. Second, it has been stated that the best way at this time to make changes in the secondary curriculum is by the development of excellent curriculum materials prepared by teams of scholars, educators, educational psychologists, and classroom teachers. Even if these materials do not find wide use, they will influence the development of commercial materials over the long run.

In the following discussion, we outline what needs to be considered in mounting a major effort to develop curriculum materials which will focus on state government and politics and can be used to supplement the secondary social studies curriculum. This strategy spells out (1) the need for a locus of interest in state government and politics; (2) the need for the development of a conceptual model or framework which describes the process of public policy-making; (3) the importance of constructing case studies in order to put life into the conceptual model; (4) the identification of teaching strategies which will help the students understand the case study as well as the central concepts and generalizations found in the model; (5) the need to test those activities in classrooms and revise them based upon feedback; and (6) the need to distribute those materials to secondary social studies teachers.

A Locus of Interest

Mounting a major curriculum materials development effort that has some hope of success is most assuredly difficult. Funding institutions must be willing to support multiyear projects of broad scope. The costs will be great in salaries, consulting fees, materials, travel, and indirect costs.

Another major barrier is finding the necessary human resources. Teams of disciplinary scholars and educational experts are needed. Scholars are often reluctant to leave their research and apply their expertise to the development of curriculum materials for elementary or secondary students. There is always a degree of caution exhibited by disciplinarians as they are asked to become involved with educators. Scholars in the disciplines find their rewards not in public education but rather from their colleagues in their area of scholarship. A factor which seems to have been important in past curriculum materials development projects is the support of professional associations. This type of recognition of the disciplinary importance of curriculum development helps to involve scholars who would not otherwise consider dealing with the development of school curriculum materials. Such support is needed on a broad basis from the political science, public administration and other disciplinary associations.

The Need for a Model or Conceptual Framework

One of the most important outcomes of the curriculum materials development efforts of the sixties and seventies was the creation of conceptual frameworks (often termed structures or models). Scholars from the disciplines were called upon to describe the central concepts and structures of their disciplines so that such frameworks could be used as guides by the developers of materials. In many cases, there was strong disagreement on the nature of a particular discipline and scholars found themselves engaged in long polemics about their disciplines. However, in the end each curriculum materials development project had to select a model from competing structures and move ahead in the development of materials. It is a critical step, often painful, and sometimes not very rewarding. Perhaps one of the most useful conceptual models in the arena of political science was prepared by David Easton for the Social Science Education Consortium.[12] This model was used with great success by Lawrence Senesh in the development of curriculum materials for the *Our Working World* series used at the elementary level. In a sense, Senesh[13] made the critical arguments which lead to an understanding by curriculum materials developers that a conceptual framework, derived from the discipline, was one of the most important steps in the creation of curriculum materials for school students. He argued that neither students nor teachers needed to know the conceptual model *per se*. However, if they would use the materials which had been developed by using the model, they would be able to see the world around them more clearly.

A model is not the phenomenon being explained, but is a representation of some aspects of that phenomenon. A model abstracts from reality, simplifying and focusing attention on certain limited features of the real world. For example, Ronald Hedlund used the analogy at the Wingspread Conference of a map as a model of some physical space. He asserted that maps simplify some, distort others, and totally ignore still other aspects of reality. These facts do not deter maps from being useful guides for some purposes. Note that there is a connection between the physical reality and the model (map) in the example; i.e., location and distance are indicated by the scale and directions on the map. The same is true of models of socio-political processes. As with the map, a certain correspondence between the things to be modeled and the model is assumed to exist.

A useful conceptual model for social science will have the following characteristics: (1) explicit assumptions about the nature of the process (for example, are the actors assumed to be rational?); (2) explicit definitions of major concepts used in the model; (3) a clear and relatively simple means of organizing the basic elements of the model (often this can be done graphically or pictorially); and (4) an explicit statement of expected relationships among the various elements in the model. If these characteristics are present, it can be seen that models have both a research and teaching function. The rigor of laying out a model ought to force the researcher to confront the question: What data would falsify the model? From a teaching point of view, the use of models simplifies the communication of certain basic ideas to a learner by clearing away irrelevant details (from the point of view of the model).

Conceptual models can perform two functions. The first is to guide the collection of data for case studies (for all such research, explicitly or implicitly, must have criteria of relevants). The second function arises after the case studies have been prepared. The conceptual framework can then provide a "map" through the details of the case studies by suggesting organization and explanation.[14] We believe the attempt made in Chapter 3, 4, 5 and 6 will prove useful as the basis for such a model.

The Use of Case Studies to Give Life to Conceptual Models

One of the criticisms leveled against those who supported the development of conceptual models in the process of curriculum development centered upon the fact that they, the models, were too abstract and detached from real life. It is our contention that the development of case studies is a logical step between the conceptual model and the development of student materials.

Conceptual models and case studies lie at the opposite poles of social research strategies. Models are abstract, general and not bound by time or space. Case studies are concrete, specific and limited. Nevertheless, these two quite dissimilar academic modes can be used, one building on the other, to convey both concepts and information. In Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 models are developed which identify the major concepts and relationships in the political policy-making process. Case studies can illustrate the major features and complexity of the process and highlight decision-making choices and dilemmas.

Having said that case studies lie at the opposite polarity of research in the social sciences, it should be clear that they have advantages which models lack for teaching purposes. Case studies "tell a story" – quite possibly an interesting one – and so have narrative continuity which is missing from an abstract model. Case studies contain the richness and complexity of detail which exists in any socio-political event. Case studies concern "real people" and "unique events." They have two major purposes. By far the most important is to *illustrate* by concrete example a point which is suggested by a model. For example, if a model suggests that the strength of a legislature is directly related to the strength of its committee system, then it is useful for teaching purposes to be able to show this in the particular case. The second purpose, also useful, is to show the limitations of abstractions and generalizations. Case studies may help to specify the conditions under which generalizations must be modified. Thus it could be that under certain conditions, a strong committee system weakens a legislature.

It should now be apparent that there is a healthy tension between modeling and case studies which is useful both for developing teaching materials and for teaching itself. To a practitioner, such as Representative Kane, models are also going to be unsatisfactory from a "realistic" point of view. To the theoretically oriented social scientist, reality is too messy to deal with in the absence of models. For students and curriculum developers, however, both devices are necessary. Models for the summary, organization, and explanation which they provide and case studies for illustrations make the concepts and generalization meaningful.

The Development and Testing of Student Materials

Using a conceptual framework or model and case studies, it is now possible to outline the development of student materials. Because of the crowded social studies curriculum, it is impractical to suggest that a new course be offered to students on state government and politics. What can be done successfully, nonetheless, is the creation of exciting and usable supplementary materials. Activities can be developed around each of the four stages of public policy formation: initiation, enactment, implementation, and assessment.

In addition to student materials, there is a need to create teacher materials. These should include lesson plans with student objectives, student activities, and methods of evaluating student understanding. These materials should also include the complete case studies on each stage of policy formation. Teachers then can decide if they want to reproduce the case studies for students or use only the student activities. The case studies should be of such intrinsic interest that students may well want to spend an extended amount of time reviewing them.

A number of student activities can also be developed. It is possible to create activities which focus on selected parts of the case studies, consist of slide/tape presentations, involve students in field work, call for role playing, involve games and simulations, study decision-making steps, focus on newspaper clippings, have students attending public meetings, bring resource people into the classroom, have students analyzing political cartoons, call for students participating in political campaigns, involve the analysis of political photographs, involve the creation of political handbills and posters, guide students in the analysis of political speeches, help students review legislative calendars, present student with data on voting behavior, aid students in gathering and analyzing state lobbying laws, and finally, include rules for the classic debate on important issues of the day.

As activities are developed, they need to be tested in the classroom and revised based upon student and teacher feedback. Finally, all the packages need to be tested as a whole and revised as needed. Only this careful and extensive field testing will insure the usefulness of the materials.

The major effort we are calling for will involve the concerted work of numerous groups: foundations and government agencies, disciplinary scholars, professional associations, educators, classroom teachers, publishers, and many others. Only the outline of this effort has been presented here, but it indicates the essential direction in which we must move.

THE GENERALIZABILITY OF STATE GOVERNMENT CURRICULUM MATERIALS

The question may be raised: to what degree are state policy-making processes so unique that the cases on state politics are limited to the state of origin? It is true that there is a sense in which each state is unique; there is much variation in political institutions, political culture, party competition, political behavior as well as in policy outputs.[15] Therefore, each state represents a unique combination of these factors. However, that acknowledged fact need not mean that case studies have to be constructed for every state (making the task virtually impossible). For it is possible to classify states on the basis of similarities; for example, those states which tend to be more innovative in policy and those states that tend to be less.[16] This pattern of diffusion of innovation allows for the study of initiative (or non-initiative) of policy in two settings: those states which are receptive to innovation and those which are not. Similarly, states may be classified (for the purpose of case studies) on the basis of constitutional factors (strong vs. weak governor), type of political culture, strength of party competition, cohesion in the legislature, interest group strength and/or rates of political participation. The scheme below is just an example of how case materials might be organized, for the purpose of case studies on policy initiation.

Thus, only four case studies (rather than 50) would be necessary to provide one example of initiation for each type of state. The point is that states may be grouped together on the basis of some reasonable classification scheme in order to use the materials comparatively. This argument merely follows from the findings of comparative state politics research, some of which is cited in Everson's Chapter 3. It

FIGURE 1
STATE POLITICAL CULTURE*

State Innovation Scores**		Traditional	Individualistic	Moralistic
	High	No Cases	Case Study on Initiation	Case Study on Initiation
	Low	Case Study on Initiation	Case Study on Initiation	No Cases

*See work of Daniel Elazar cited in fn. 15
**See work of Jack Walker cited in fn. 16

should also be noted that states tend to deal with similar policy issues – for example, the recent medical malpractice question troubled many states.

CONCLUSIONS

The arguments of this final chapter may be summarized briefly. First, there is a *need* to reform the teaching of state politics in the secondary school. Second, the lessons of the curriculum revolution may be fruitfully applied to this problem. Third, there exists a suitable conceptual framework – the stages of the policy-process – to guide the project. Fourth, case studies can be usefully employed as a means of generating realistic sources for learning activities. Finally, by judicious use of typologies, case studies can be developed which appeal to all states. Only by a major concerted effort, however, can these ideas become reality in revitalizing the teaching of state government and politics in our secondary schools.

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[14] The obvious circularity of the use of the models in this connection should not be troubling if we keep in mind that there are bound to be discrepancies, major and minor, between our models and the facts of a particular case.

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